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The History, The Lives, and The Music of the Civil War Brass Band

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The History, The Lives, and The Music of the Civil War Brass Band

by

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my loving wife, Sandy, to whom I am forever indebted to for her tireless help and guidance throughout this endeavor.

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I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the following people who have helped me throughout this project: Sandra Frederick, Dr. Lisa Withers, Dr. Jack Roper, and my supervisor Dr. Andrew Dell'Antonio.

THE HISTORY, THE LIVES, AND THE MUSIC

OF THE CIVIL WAR BRASS BAND

Publication no. _____

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2003

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The history, the lives, and the music of the Civil War brass band make up an important element in the history of music in the United States. During the mid to late nineteenth century America was a melting pot of nationalities with each looking to bring a piece of the musical customs of their homeland to the United States. It was during this time that America was searching for a new musical identity, this identity was found by merging many individual traditions into one: the late nineteenth century American brass band. Through the new innovations in brass instrument construction American manufactures were now at the forefront of producing quality musical instruments for the common man. It was these instruments that helped to foster the creation of the town band. With the outbreak of the Civil War the popularity of the brass band was even stronger, as every fighting unit wanted to have a quality musical group with them. This desire led to the attachment of the 114th Pennsylvania "Zouave" Regimental Band and the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band to their respective regiments. These two bands,

while on opposite side of the conflict, were strikingly similar in their reaction to the war, the music that they performed, and their musical heritage. Throughout the war the bands performed for the men which elevated their spirits and earned respect for the bands. Following the Civil War the idea of brass bands in America continued to flourish, often in unique and curious fashion. The brass band era in America helped to musically define the culture in many parts of the United States at the end of the nineteenth century and left a lasting mark on music in America.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

Throughout history music has been a defining characteristic of cultured societies. In the United States, a society which is defined by the mixing of many distinct cultures, an amalgamous musical identity was formed through the assimilation of immigrating traditions. This becomes apparent when studying the history and the development of the American brass band, the lives of Civil War brass musicians, and the music that was performed by the Civil War brass bands that helped define American culture during the Civil War era. Therefore, by studying Civil War brass bands, we are given a definitive historical point from which to study musical culture in America.

Europeans immigrated to the United States in large numbers in the mid to late nineteenth century due to the country's open immigration policies. Consequently, America at this time was a melting pot of nationalities with each bringing a portion of the musical customs of their homeland to the United States. Throughout Europe many advancements were taking place in the field of music. These advancements ranged from the style of writing music, to the innovation and development of new musical instruments: this was especially true in the field of brass instruments. These innovations led to the experimentation in the band genre, experimentation that was assimilated into a new American tradition. Also, during this time America was searching for a new musical identity and this identity was found by merging many European traditions into one: the late nineteenth century American brass band. New innovations in brass instrument construction resulted in instruments that were easier to play; American manufactures could now move to the forefront in the production of quality musical instruments for the common citizen.

Through the innovations in instrument manufacturing, more people were able to perform on brass instruments in various musical ensembles. This rise in the accessibility of brass instruments led to the creation and development of the town band. These town bands would perform for many social gatherings, such as community picnics, and would perform the popular music of the time. It was due to this new vehicle, the town band, that musicians were able to help foster civic pride and to promote culture in even the most remote locations in the United States.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the popularity of the brass band became even stronger. Every fighting unit wanted to have a quality musical group attached to them, just as they were accustomed to hearing in their home towns. Two examples of Civil War brass bands that epitomize the popularity of music to the common American were the 114th Pennsylvania "Zouave" Regimental Band and the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band. These two bands, while on opposite sides in the conflict, were strikingly similar in their musical heritage, their reaction to the war, their experiences during the war, and the music that they performed. Throughout the war the bands performed for the common soldiers and officers thus giving the troops a quality distraction from the misery of war. These performances were designed to elevate the spirits of the troops, and the musicians were generally able to earn respect throughout the military. Both the Federal and Confederate governments realized the power of music and the effect of the bands upon the soldiers and were generally eager to incorporate bands into the service.

The music that the musicians were performing was made up a variety of types of compositions, including marches, quicksteps, chorales, as well as numerous other genres. This music is challenging by today's performance standards and surely was demanding

for the nineteenth century musician who was performing on the instruments of the time. Included in this document is a new edition of a piece from the library of the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band that helps to illustrate both the technical and physical demands of this style of music.

Following the Civil War the idea of brass bands in America continued to flourish, often resulting in unique and curious ensembles. It was through these many ensembles that the musicians who were employed during the Civil War were able to find a new outlet for their music, thus continuing the evolutionary process of American music. The brass band era helped to musically define the culture in many parts of the United States at the end of the nineteenth century and left a lasting mark on the music and culture of America.

1. The History of The Brass Band

The industrial revolution not only brought about changes in the world economy, but it also helped to change the culture of industrialized nations. Music, being a cornerstone of culture, also changed during this time period. Jon Newsom states that the American brass movement was spawned from European traditions, however, it was a combination of these cultural traditions and their impact with the industrial revolution that caused changes in music.

Prior to the industrial revolution European bands were generally a collection of wind and brass instruments that had been in service since the middle of the eighteenth century. With the advent of the industrial age in England, factory owners encouraged the formation of new musical ensembles made up of all brass instruments. These brass bands served many purposes such as entertainment, advertisement, and a morale booster for factory workers. In the eyes of management, the bands were a source of entertainment for both the musicians and the workers who enjoyed the music while they worked.[1]

While factory administrators most likely saw factory bands as a management tool, the musicians may have used the bands as their own way to voice personal expression or it may have been an outlet for the frustration and the stress of the musician's regular factory job. The members of the bands held very desirable positions in that they were allowed to practice during the workday and were generally awarded a status higher than the average worker by management. One of the benefits of being a member of the band, according to Jon Newsom, was that the members of these factory bands were treated like

[1] Jon Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*. 36 No. 2, 117.

sports celebrities of today. This celebrity status must have also had its downside as well. While the upside of getting paid time off of their regular factory job to practice seems glamorous in the eyes of some, when competition time came around the pressure from management to succeed and win may have made participating in the ensemble a very unwelcome assignment to the musicians. Also, this higher status may have resulted in the alienation of some musicians within the factory and led to a disruption of the social order of the working class.

During this time in England there were also professional military bands functioning at the same time, but these bands, however, were not entirely made of brass instruments. Also, these bands were not as polished as the factory bands nor were they as popular. To this day the brass band movement in England is made up primarily of amateur musicians. It still enjoys some sponsorship from large companies, but it is no longer quite as popular among the working population as before.[2]

Throughout Europe the concept of the wind band was flourishing. Two other nationalities that had a direct effect upon the American band tradition were the Irish and the Germans. One bandleader who offered innovation to the band movement was Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore. Gilmore was an Irish immigrant who settled in Boston. It was in Boston that the public really began to embrace the idea of the all brass band. Gilmore was celebrated as a bandleader for his experimentation with putting double reed instruments into his brass band. The introduction of these reed instruments was to complement the brass section just as a string section would have. The Boston music critic John Sullivan Dwight in 1868 confirms that there was something unique going on in

[2] Jon Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 117.

Gilmore's band involving the mix of woodwinds and brass. In 1868 he wrote a review of a Gilmore Band concert from Chicago that read "The reed and wind effects of Gilmore's band were quite novel here, where it is so unusual to find more than the smallest possible assortment of instruments in the orchestra. So our people curiously enough 'went out to see' and hear '*reeds* shaken in the wind.'" [3] Gilmore was ultimately interested in creating an ensemble that could compete with the orchestras in terms of both musical refinement and quality of sound. It was Gilmore that set the groundwork for the instrumentation and the repertoire for the American wind band that John Phillip Sousa was to establish.[4]

The Germanic influence upon American band music came from a German bandleader by the name of Wilhelm Wieprecht. Wieprecht's contribution to the band world was that he is credited with creating a standardization in both the wind band and their music in Germany. He was given the task of creating a collection of books, entitled "Konigliche Preussische Armee Marsche." This collection, in seven volumes, created a standard throughout Germany of what music was to be performed.[5] This no doubt led to a rigid structure that resulted in a new musical standard in Germany. Therefore, with the immigration of the Germans into the United States these standards of rigorous practice and performance were continued in this country.

These three nationalities were able to influence music in America and American culture because of the immigration policy of the United States during this time period. During the nineteenth century the United States of America was one of the few countries

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[3] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (February 15, 1868) 189; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement, 120.

[4] Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 119.

[5] Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 119.

that was welcoming European immigrants. The land here was inexpensive and available, and the country needed workers for the many developing industries that were emerging. Because of the influx of European immigrants during this time, America was able to accumulate a wealth of different ideas and talents. The immigrants brought with them their ideas about music and due to the importance of music in their homelands, there also developed a sense of pride among the many groups of immigrants. For example, with the standardization of wind music in Germany, the German musicians took a great deal of pride in their playing and their performance abilities. All across the country musical societies began to be formed in the traditions of their European homelands. These societies were able to promote the nationalistic traditions, but also were a source of education that helped to spawn new ideas in the band world and eventually led to the development of the all brass band.

Throughout all of these developments in the instrumentation of the various bands out of the European traditions, there arose a keen interest in the brass band. One of the causes of this emergence of the brass-only band was the major advancements of the instrument makers, who made the instruments easier to play and more readily available for the common consumer. One of the first important innovations that contributed to the popularity of the brass band happened in 1810 when Joseph Halliday, from Dublin, Ireland, developed and introduced his keyed bugle. While not necessarily easy to play, it is an example of the early steps in the development of chromatic brass instruments.

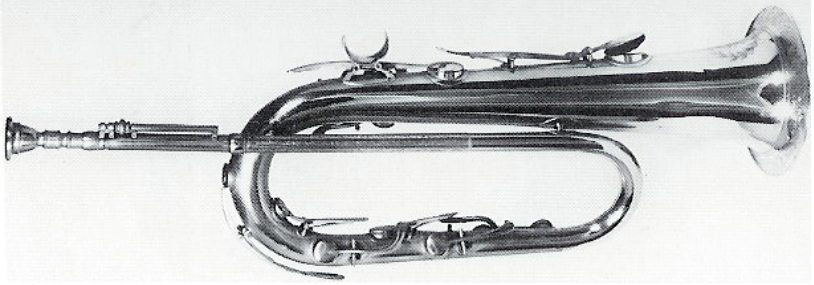

Figure 1.1: Keyed Bugle (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

With Halliday's keyed bugle the wind band did not have to rely upon the reed instruments for the melody any more. The scientific principle of this instrument was not a new idea, but rather an extension of the earlier development of the chromatic woodwinds. The keyed trumpet had already been in service, but Halliday's new idea was to cut holes into the side of a bugle. Then he placed lever-operated padded keys to control the openings in order to create a chromatic instrument.[6] This instrument appeared on the market at just the right time and quickly developed into a full family of instruments known as the ophicleides. In America, these chromatic instruments began to catch on until they became primary instruments in the wind band. This phenomenon, which occurred around 1835, can be seen as marking the beginning of the brass band era.

[6] Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 121.

2. THE BRASS BAND ERA

Although the brass band movement in America was extremely popular, it did have its critics. One of the main areas of criticism came from Boston in a publication entitled "Dwight's Journal of Music", a well-regarded paper of art and literature. The founder and main contributor was a man by the name of John Sullivan Dwight. Dwight was very unhappy about all of the new-found enthusiasm for the all-brass bands in the Boston area and was very eager to criticize it in order to try to sway public opinion. It was often the tactic of Dwight to use very flowery and picturesque language to try and convey his disapproval of the situation. Dwight did not think that the band movement was terrible, just the all-brass model. In fact, he even offered a solution to the problem in 1853 when he posed the idea of creating a city band that would be sponsored by the local government, which would be a very large musical ensemble. This band would have been made up of professional musicians and would be capable of stamping out the smaller brass bands in the city. [7]

Dwight also attempted, cleverly, to evoke a sense of civic pride and duty in Boston by writing another anonymous letter stating the superiority of New York bands to the Boston Bands. Dwight responded to the letter by saying that it was true that the New York bands were better because they have woodwind instruments and if the Boston ensembles had woodwinds they would not be second rate any more.[8]Another interesting

[7] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (April 23, 1853).

[8] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (June 30, 1855).

ploy to discredit the all brass band came from Dwight in 1852 when he wrote that the music that the bands are playing was in the process of changing and that it had become, "too effeminate, far-fetched and characterless. They are not manly, soul-stirring, bold enough."[9]

It is clear through the preceding series of quotes that Dwight was trying to employ at least three different tactics in order to get rid of the brass bands. First, in 1852, by attacking the manliness of the music that was being performed. Secondly, in 1853, by simply offering a solution to standardize the bands, like in Germany. Finally, in 1855, he attempted to incite a revolt against the brass bands by questioning the civic pride of Boston. When these attempts failed, Dwight's writing became much more blunt and forceful such as in this statement of ultimate crime against music, in Dwight's eyes. This crime occurred when he went to the commencement exercises at his alma mater, Harvard. "Last week we had commencement--commencement at old Harvard--and as usual, a Boston band assisted at the exercises. But--Ichabod!--the glory has departed. Brass, brass, brass,--nothing but brass."[10] Another lash against the brass bands by Dwight was in a description of a parade in 1856 as the bands were passing by he remarked that the bands, "grew monotonous and hackneyed, soon they all sound alike…aggravating increase of force, without increased meaning"[11] Through statements like these Dwight was trying desperately to turn the cultured people of Boston, in his eyes, away from the new idea of the brass band and back to the European masters.

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[9] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (June 19, 1852).

[10] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (August 2, 1856) 141; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 117.

[11] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (June21, 1856).

When reading Dwight's journal there are a lot of anti-brass band passages authored by someone named Sackbut. It is very likely that Dwight *was* Sackbut as the wording of the passages is very similar. Furthermore, it was commonly known that Dwight was a proponent of the valve-less brass instruments such as the sackbut, which may have been the origin of his pen name. There are numerous entries by either anonymous authors or by Sackbut that show the passion that Dwight had for trying to eradicate these brass bands. The majority of the journal entries deal with subjects such as Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schubert and the fact that he took time away from discussing topics such as these helps to illustrate the commitment that Dwight had to his cause.

Even though Dwight was berating the brass band in his writings, the common man in America was fully behind the movement, and thus private companies, such as the railroads, were sponsoring concerts by brass bands. The idea of concerts sponsored by companies helped to promote the brass band concept in America. Music was no longer only made in elite settings but now the average person could attend one of these sponsored concerts. With the rise in popularity of the brass concerts, people did not want to just listen to the music, they wanted to play the music as well. One of the main reasons for this rise in popularity was also that the construction and the nature of the newer brass instruments made them easier to play with some sense of mastery. The concept of achieving an evenness of sound and a high quality of pitch in these newly developed instruments greatly appealed to the general public and helped to make the brass band thrive in America.

Another major contributing advancement in brass instruments and brass bands was the development of the application of the valve to a brass instrument. This invention came about in 1818 from the workings of two Berlin musicians by the name of Heinrich Stoelzel and Friederich Bluhmel. Following their discovery, which was known as the Stoelzel valve, there were other valve systems that emerged in Europe and America. Stoelzel and Bluhmel's instruments mainly had two valves; the first valve was designed to lower any natural open tone by one semi-tone while the second valve was placed beside it in order to lower a pitch by two semi-tones. A third valve was added to the instruments around 1825 that gave an option of lowering a note by three semi-tones. It was with this three-valve invention that the chromatic scale was now possible on a valved bugle. Instruments utilizing these new ideas can be grouped into two categories: piston and rotary valved instruments. [12]

Adolphe Sax brought about the next large innovation of brass instruments in 1840 with the development of a family of chromatic valved brass instruments.

[12] Robert Garofalo and Mark Elrod. *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands* (Charleston, West Virginia: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1990), 2.

Figure 2.1: Collection of Saxhorns (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

Sax's instruments, called saxhorns, were a major improvement over the keyed bugles of the previous few years and featured an upright bell with three valves. These horns were successful for a variety of reasons. One of the reasons was that they were constructed with a fairly large bore size for the size of the instrument; the bore was conical in nature and this resulted in a very warm and mellow sound that blended well with other instruments. These instruments were effective in the ensemble, had good intonation, and had an evenness of timbre throughout the entire range of the horn. One of the most important facts about the saxhorns was that they were easy to play; the carrying power of the saxhorns outdoors was another contributing factor to their success.[13]

Even thought the saxhorns were catching on in popularity, Dwight was still trying to destroy the American brass band movement with statements like "A certain peculiar and pleasing effect invests [brass band] music, at first, but it is of a kind which lacks

[13] Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 3.

character and durability. For genuine enjoyment I would as soon listen to a Choral Symphony performed with flutes and the voices of eunuchs."[14] Dwight's criticisms were not all lambasting in nature, they would not be considered favorable, but they were on occasion at least a little constructive in nature such as,

> The more pathetic, the more human the music to be interpreted, the more cold and inadequate do the tones of these instruments appear. With all their mellowness and smoothness, with all their luscious commingling, they sound to us like soulless, watery, Undine-like natures... The same criticism, or an analogous one, applies to this whole modern improvement in the construction of brass instruments; to the whole Sax-horn family, the valve-trumpet, &c., so softened down and made so smooth and flexible instead of the harsh, spirited, crackling blast of the old straight trumpet. That had *character*, if it was somewhat intractable; but these are somewhat emasculated in their gentleness.--But this opens a whole field of discussion, which we may not enter now.[15]

Dwight also felt that the availability and general ease of playing that the new instruments brought to the table was somewhat detrimental to the state of music. Now that many more people than before had access to musical instruments and were playing them with a certain degree of proficiency, he was of the opinion that music was meant to be enjoyed by all, but performed by just a few. Dwight also approached his readers with the idea that music should only be performed with the original instrumentation that the composer had scored, meaning that transcriptions were not acceptable. Since these all-brass bands were playing a lot of transcriptions, it was inevitable that Dwight would not care for them. These ideas are illustrated in the following quote from his music journal.

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[14] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (April 16, 1853) 10; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 124.

[15] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (June, 19, 1852) 86; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 124.

> It certainly cannot be questioned that the employment of valves greatly facilitates the performance of difficult passages in music. Of the truth of this we have sad evidence in the readiness with which half-fledged artists essay the execution of compositions wholly beyond their calibre of comprehension, on the one hand; and, on the other, in the performance, by virtuosos, of parts unfitted and never intended for the particular instruments they profess.[16]

In Dwight's opinion the instruments were making amateur musicians play better and this led the professionals to have to perform more difficult music in order to stay ahead. This was not acceptable to Dwight who did not want these brass instruments playing anything that was originally written for more proper instruments, i.e. strings. With these quotes Dwight is again trying to influence public opinion and remove the brass band from the music world.

Sax was not the only person to be working on a chromatic valved instrument, but he was able to get his instruments on the market at just the right time and was aided by the fact that he already had some fame as an innovator in the field of musical instruments. One of his most effective marketing tools was to promote his products as exemplified in the following newspaper advertisement that made its way from Europe to America and finally into John Dwight's own *Musical Journal* entitled "How Wind Instruments affect the Health."

> Persons who practice wind instruments, are, in general, distinguished--and anybody can verify the statement--by a broad chest and shoulders, an unequivocal sign of vigor. In the traveling bands that pass through our cities, who has not seen women playing the horn, the cornet, the trumpet, and even the trombone and ophicleide, and noticed that they all enjoyed perfect health, and exhibited a considerable development of the thorax? In an orchestra a curious circumstance can be noticed; and that is the corpulence, the strength which the players of wind instruments

[16] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (April 16, 1853) 9; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 124.

> exhibit, and the spare frames of the disciples of Paganini. The same may be said, with more reason, of pianists.[17]

Dwight must either have been starting to moderate his strong opinion about the brass band movement to allow articles like this advertisement into his journal, or he was willing to take any paying advertisements. Sax was also able to gain exposure for his instruments by outfitting an English brass quintet, "The Distins", with a set of his instruments. This group toured and proved to be a very successful promotional tool for Sax's instruments. The German counterpart to the saxhorn was then known as the flugelhorn. The name flugelhorn was simply the name that Germans ascribed to the saxhorn. These instruments, both the flugelhorn and the saxhorn, were destined to become members of the increasingly popular brass band especially in England and the United States.

Not all of the instruments that were being played in the American brass bands of the time were from Europe. There were five significant brass instrument manufactures in the United States that contributed greatly to the art of brass instrument making including Samuel Graves of Boston; Thomas D. Paine from Woonsocket, Rhode Island; Issac Fiske from Worchester, Massachusetts; Elbridge G. Wright of Boston; and J. Lanthrop Allen, also from Boston.

> Paine was the first to produce rotary valves with string linkage- a combination which dominated American production for nearly half a century and is still in use of the modern French horns. J. Lathrop Allen was distinguished for invention of the Allen valve, a quick-action rotary valve that was popular among American players until late in the century. E.G. Wright carried the development of the key bugle to its zenith and was famous for the beautiful presentation instruments he made of silver and gold.

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[17] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (November 15, 1862) 259; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 121.

> Isaac Fiske was noted for his work on eliminating restriction in the bore of brasses and for attempts to provide the cornet with lighter, quicker valve action. [18]

However, it was Graves who had the largest effect upon the industry. His operation was larger and produced a variety of instruments. Most of the American brass instrument makers were based in the northeast region of the country and the instruments that were produced in their shops were hand crafted and of very high quality. Boston, Philadelphia, and New York were the main centers for the production of brass instruments.

[18] Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 4.

3. Instruments of the Brass Band Era

The brass instruments that were used during the time of the American Civil War can be classified into four categories. Bell front instruments, in which the bell of the instrument is facing forward and away from the player,

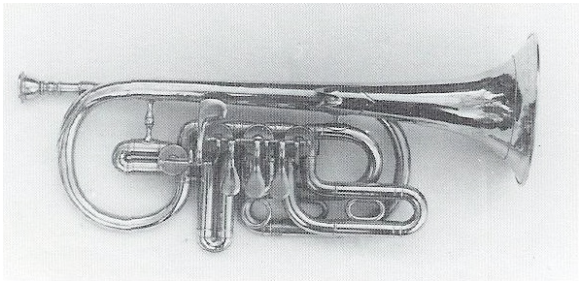

Figure 3.1: Bell front cornet (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

circular instruments where the instrument is coiled around itself,

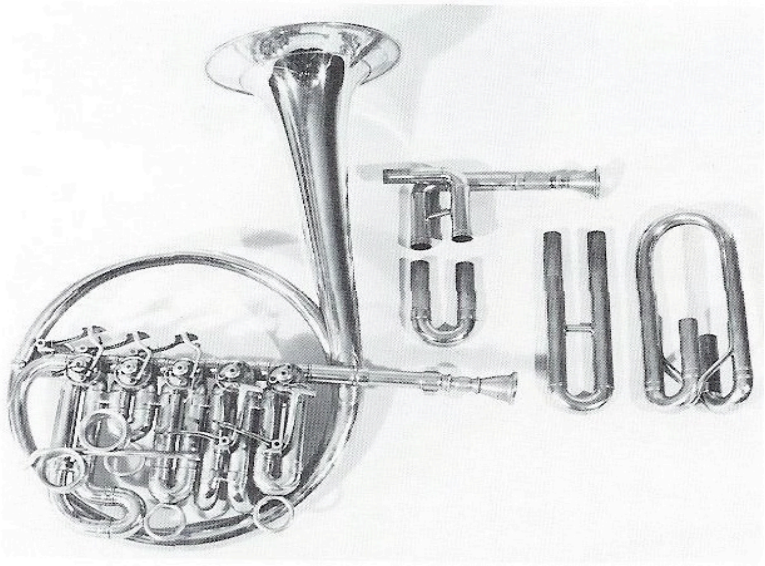

Figure 3.2: Circular cornet (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

upright instruments where the bell of the instrument is pointing upwards towards the sky,

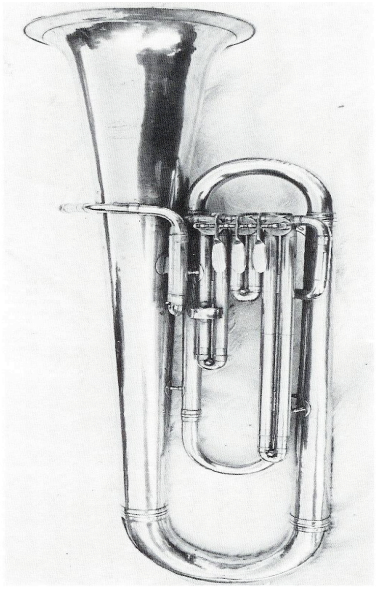

Figure 3.3: Upright instrument (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

and over-the-shoulder style instruments where the bell faces behind the player.

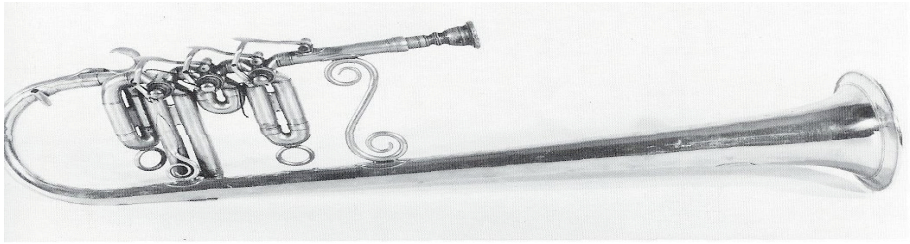

Figure 3.4: Over-the shoulder saxhorn (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

There were two predominant types of valve systems that were in use during this time: the string linkage rotary valve and the Berliner piston valve. The piston valve became more popular because it was very reliable and not prone to breaking. These Berliner piston valve was actually invented by the famous bandleader Wilhelm Wieprecht and patented in 1835. It was also known as the Berliner Pumpen Valve, which was an improvement of the original Stoeztel valve. Most of the instruments were made from brass or German silver during this time, and the thinness of the metal made the instruments very susceptible to dents and damage. They were, however, a vast

improvement over the woodwind instruments since they could stand up better to the outdoor elements.

In addition, with the changes in humidity and exposure to the elements, the instruments had a difficult time retaining good intonation. The better bands always had a matched set of instruments since there was not a standard of intonation among the manufactures at this time. Every horn could be different and the skilled players of the day had to adjust the pitch with alternate fingerings as well as using their embouchures to bend or manulipulate the pitches into tune. The mouthpieces of the instruments had a deep funnel shaped cup and the rims were flat with a sharp bite into the cup. These mouthpieces are similar to the modern french horn mouthpiece and when paired with the conical bore of the instruments produce a very warm and mellow sound.[19]

Brass instruments during the antebellum period were not cheap by the standards of the time. The "S.T. Gordon Musical Merchandise Catalog" from 1864 offered many different instruments at different prices. For each instrument, except the french horn and the orchestral cornets, they offered four choices; Brass with piston valve, brass with rotary valve, brass with German silver valves and trimming, and German silver throughout with rotary valves. Of course, with all of the different options available the different models varied substantially in price. For example, the E-flat cornet in brass with the piston valve cost 23 dollars, with rotary valves it climbed to 38 dollars. If one opted for German silver valves and trimming, the price was 45 dollars; the deluxe model with German silver throughout the instrument and with rotary valves cost 50 dollars. The E-flat cornet was the cheapest instrument in the catalog; the most expensive instrument

[19] Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 8.

was the E-flat contra bass, which, fully loaded, came out to 120 dollars. In addition to the standard instruments, one could customize ones instrument with an additional rotary valve. There was a special area for the buyer to be sure to clarify when ordering if the instrument was to be bell upright, over-the-shoulder, or circular and also if it was to be used in an orchestra or a street band. [20] It is interesting to note that the average farmer in 1860 was making a yearly wage of around 400 dollars and more skilled laborers were making between 500 to 900 dollars a year.[21] These particular instruments were not easily accessible to the general public due to their high cost, therefore other manufactures and distributors were quick to offer cheaper instruments.

The main instrument associated with the Civil War brass band was the over-the-shoulder saxhorn. These instruments were used to provide music for the troops marching behind the band, and the origins of these over the shoulder instrument have been attributed to Thomas Dodworth and this two sons Allen and Harvey since they were first used by the Dodworth Band in New York during the 1830s. In the July 17th, 1880 article entitled "Band Music Then and Now" in the *American Art Journal* Harvey Dodworth claimed,

> Speaking of instruments, bugles used to be the principal, with trumpets, trombones, serpents and ophicleides. Then my father, Thomas Dodworth, and my elder brother, Allen, invented a very powerful and effective instrument, to which they gave the name ebor corno…the bells of ours were over our shoulders, and threw the sound back, instead of turned upward. Many of those old

[20] *Louis Kohler's Piano Studies* (New York: S.T. Gordon 1864); quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 25.

[21] United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United Stats Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 90.

> instruments are in use yet, and hold their own even among the most modern. [22]

Since there were many variations of instruments on the market, bands were assembled utilizing whatever instruments were available. With this discrepancy of instruments the make up of different bands was always an issue. Unless the band was fortunate to have a matched set of instruments there would be forward playing instruments, upright horns, and over-the-shoulder saxhorns. Naturally, all of these factors would make balance and sound an issue for the conductor. There were many opinions as to what the best makeup for a band was. The instrument manufactures were strong proponents of a matched instrument band, since naturally many bands would have to purchase new instruments from them in order to achieve such an ensemble. Many bands, however, were not sure if they needed new instruments and were concerned with the cost of purchasing new instruments. An interesting solution to this dilemma comes from the 1876 Stratton Band Instruments Catalogue. The question is stated from a reader, "Our instruments are 'over-the-shoulder' and 'bell fronts.' When the band is on parade, should the cornet players march in the front or rear ranks?" The editor, presumably in humor, wrote that one should, "Put the cornet players in the front rank, and make them march *backward,* so that the sound of all the instruments will go the same

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[22] William Bufkin, *Union Bands of the Civil War* (Ph.D. dissertation, The Lousiana State University, 1973) Chapter 5; quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands*, 9.

way. It may be a little inconvenient for them, but they richly deserve it for being so stupid as to get front cornets to use with over-the-shoulder instruments." [23]

[23] 1876 Stratton Band Instrument catalog (New York) 10; quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 9.

4. THE EARLY MILITARY BRASS BAND

Given the increasing number of new instruments and bands in America, there was a definite need for music for these ensembles. One of the first publications of band music was by Elias Howe of Boston who published the *First Part of the Musician's Companion* in 1844. This collection was made up of popular pieces of the time arranged for six and eight part brass bands. The instrumentation of the book is:

E-flat bugle
B-flat bugle
B-flat posthorn
B-flat cornopean
Tenor trombone
Bass trombone
First orphecleide
Second orphecleide[24]

Two years later, in 1846, E. K. Eaton published a collection entitled Twelve Pieces of Harmony for Military Brass Bands. The pieces in this collection are much more difficult than those in Howe's book and set a very high standard for musicianship for the whole ensemble. The instrumentation was larger than the Howe ensemble as well:

E-flat bugle
Two B-flat bugles
One cornopeon or post horn
Two E-flat trumpets
Two french horns
Two alto ophecleides
Three trombones
Two bass ophecleides

[24] Elias Howe Jr., *First Part of the Musician's Companion* (Boston: Elias Howe, Jr. 1844) quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 125.

Side drums[24]

In 1849 Allen Dodworth was writing in the New York music journal *Message Bird* about the proper formation of brass bands. His opinion of the ideal group was:

> What, in our opinion, would make the best arrangement for a Band of ten, would be as follows: Two E-flat Trebles, Two B-flat Altos, Two E-flat Tenores, One B-flat Baritone, One A[-flat] or B-flat Bass, Two E-flat Contra Bass. If more are required, add two Trumpets; then two Post-horns; then two Trombones; Drums, Cymbals, &c. Many different kinds of instruments are used to take the parts here mentioned, but most of the Bands of the present day give preference to what is called the Saxhorn, which is made in all the different keys mentioned above."[25]

Later in 1853 Dodworth published a collection of scores entitled *Brass Band School*. This collection was for the same instrumentation as he described earlier in the *Message Bird*. In this collection, Dodworth also mentions the specific invention of the over-the-shoulder style of instrument. He felt that when the band was performing military functions the over-the-shoulder instruments were very important and should always be used, so that the men marching behind the ensemble could hear the music to which they were supposed to march. Dodworth warns, however, that whenever the group is in a concert setting they should revert to the regular instruments, as the over the shoulder instruments would not be appropriate. In 1853, the *Brass Band Journal,* by Firth, Pond, and Company of New York, was published. It was the first American publication of all saxhorn pieces, and included many compositions and arrangements by G.W.E. Friederich; it was very popular and lasted until the 1870s. A similar type of

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[25] Allen Dodworth "The Formation of Bands," *Message Bird* (August 1, 1849) 9; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 125.

publication was also available in Cincinnati in 1859 entitled *Peters' Sax-Horn Journal,* published by the W.C. Peters & Sons Company. This collection was mostly made up of quicksteps and popular dances that were arranged from popular piano pieces and intended for six to twelve players.[26]

One of the most famous collections of early brass band music in America is known as the "*Port Royal Band Books*". This musical library was never published and the only surviving parts are manuscript pages from the original collection. These books were the primary source of music used by the Third New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry Band, organized by a cornet player by the name of Gustavus Ingalls. Before the Civil War Ingalls was charged with the duty of setting up a band in Concord, New Hampshire. This band was stationed at the beginning of the war in Port Royal, South Carolina, which is where the band and their books get their names. Claudio S. Garfulla composed much of this music, and in these books Garfulla's name is attributed to many of the compositions. Grafulla, born in 1810 on the island of Minorca, quickly gained a position in Lothian's New York Brass Band and later became its musical director when he arrived in America in 1838. He showed a strong talent for composition and arranging, and one of the stylistic accomplishments that Grafulla helped to cultivate in the brass band tradition is the presence of a very demanding solo line, often in the upper voices of the ensemble, throughout his works.[27]

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[26] Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 125.

[27] Emmons Clark, *History of the Seventh Regiment of New York* 1:289-290; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 126.

Bands During the Early War Years

With the outbreak of the Civil War the need for quality brass bands for the service of the military was very high. One of the tactics for recruiting men into the service was to promise them that there would be a famous band joining their ranks.[28] Often this was enough to sway the decision of the men to join one company over another. One of the more famous bands during this time was the 24th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry band under the direction of Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore. John Dwight said in his *Journal,* "Gilmore's celebrated band has been engaged to accompany Col. Stephenson's Regiment to the war. The band will consist of *sixty-eight pieces*, including twenty drummers and twelve buglers. Such a band was never enjoyed by a regiment before, and it will probably incite the men to heroic deeds if loyal men can need any new stimulus in such a time as this." [29] This quote is very interesting in that it illustrates a change in Dwight's attitude. Just nine years earlier, he had called the music "effeminate", and "not manly" [30] and now, we see him reversing his position and saying that the music is good enough to propel men to heroic deeds. This change illustrates the popularity of the brass band that even Dwight was forced to accept. The music of the time also had changed and now many pieces considered highbrow, were being arranged for the brass bands.

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[28] Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 127.

[29] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (September 28, 186*1)* 207 12; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 127.

[30] *Dwight's Journal of Music* (June 19, 1852).

Upon enlistment the musicians were issued standard equipment for the duration of their service. This included: one pair of trousers, infantry, two knit shirts, 2 pair of flannel drawers, three pairs of stockings, one canteen, one haversack, one knapsack, two great coat stripes, one great coat, one woolen blanket and one rubber blanket.

Each regiment had to pay to have a band attached to them; as an example of the cost of having a band, a bandmaster from Boston, E.B. Flagg, was paid $3,000 by the 44th Massachusetts Volunteer Militia for limited service in camp. [31] A person who earned 400 to 500 dollars a year during this time was considered to earn a very good living, so this large sum was a very good wage. One of the officers of the regiment said in a letter dated September 13, 1863, "[s]ince the 44th went into barracks they have been favored with the services of the Boston Brass Band, under the lead of Mr. Flagg. It is said the expense is to be defrayed by an assessment upon the regiment. Considering that the mass of the regiment have had no voice in the selection of a band, a number of persons are inclined to consider this a little 'rough'." [32]

Bands that were attached to regiments were able to evoke a sense of patriotic duty and were used as a propaganda tool for recruiting new service men. Through this practice, the well-established and prominent bands of the time must have been highly sought after commodities. It is interesting to note that anyone who was willing and able

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[31] Albert Mann, comp., *History of the Forty-fifth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia: 'The Cadet Regiment*, 196; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 127.

[32] *Record of the Service of the Forty-fourth Massachusetts Volunteer Militia in North Carolina, August 1862 to May 1863,* 31; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 127.

to gather a band together was allowed to attach the title of colonel to themselves and attach the band to a regiment, thus becoming the commanding officer of the band. Another advantage of being the commanding officer of a band during this time was the pay that went with the position. This instant commissioning of officers was part of the reason that the rank of colonel was so widely distributed throughout the military.

It was not uncommon for a regimental band to be formed simply by men in the service of the company. Men who originally enlisted into the infantry and could play a brass instrument were often moved into the band to fill out the ensemble. There were also instances in which bands were formed with men who could double on other instruments, mainly string instruments. Polignac's Brigade Band was one of this type of band. Since their brass musicians could also play string instruments so for variety the band, in the evenings, became a chamber orchestra for the enjoyment of the men. [33] This type of ensemble probably helped to keep the music fresh, and in return not wear out any particular pieces.

Not all of the musicians who were in the military had formal musical training before they enlisted. Also, some of the recruits were very young, not all were out of their teens. These young children, 12-15 or so, could enter the service as musicians with their parents' consent, and then possibly fight later. The Federal Army during this time maintained a school of music for these young recruits. This school was located on the island across from Brooklyn, New York in the Old South Battery. It was a dismal

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[33] Kenneth E. Olson, *Music and Musket* (Westport: Greenwood Press 1981), 170.

situation for the young boys who slept in unheated barracks on straw mattresses with no pillows. Augustus Meyers, who enlisted at age 12 and was sent to this school, reflected that he could not wait until he could afford a pillow. The daily life of these boys began with playing reveille together, and then off to a breakfast of salt pork and four ounces of bread with black coffee, after this it was off to school, then lunch of soup and bread. The afternoon consisted of more school. This school consisted in the art of soldiering, i.e. saluting and marching, and also in musical instruction. The text used was *The Drummers and Fifers Guide* by Bruce and Emmett. George Bruce was a former drum major for the Seventh New York Militia Regiment under Garfulla, and Daniel Emmett was a principal fifer with the Sixth Infantry of the Regular Army. It was Emmett who composed the popular tune "Dixie". This method contained instruction for all instruments. The boys had to memorize most of their music. So in a relatively short time these boys had to learn to read music and to become proficient on their instruments and then it was off to the field. This school continued throughout the war until 1869. [34]

Band Reform During Wartime

Towards the end of 1861 the Federal Government had begun to feel the financial strain of the war and decided that they needed to cut back on some expenditures. The

[34] Olson, *Music and Musket* , 86.

government mandated that bands could only have 24 musicians. During this time it was discovered that 143 of the 200 regiments that the U.S. Sanitary Commission was able to inspect had full time bands of varying quality and size. The Paymaster – General of the Army, Benjamin F. Larned, suggested that the government could save five million dollars by eliminating the bands. This figure was fairly realistic in terms of the cost to the government. The pay scale at this time was partially to blame for the high costs. The 37th congress stipulated that one fourth of the band members should receive the allowances and pay of a sergeants of engineers and another fourth would be paid as corporals of engineer soldiers. The rest of the band would be paid as privates of engineer soldiers of the first class. The bandleader would be paid in accordance to the wage of a second lieutenant of infantry. This pay equated to a basic lieutenant, which at the time was 50 dollars a month, one servant, and four rations a day. A bandleader in the infantry or cavalry received 68 dollars a month and one servant. The engineer sergeants of the band received 34 dollars a month, the corporals 20 dollars a month. The lowly privates received 18 dollars a month. This expense to keep the bands was deemed frivolous by the paymaster general, but was thought of as a necessary expense by the secretary of sanitation. He thought that even though the bands were not all the finest musical organizations around, they were very well regarded by the men and were very valuable to the war effort. It was expensive to build the morale of the troops. [35]

[35] Olson, *Music and Musket*, 74.

The next mandate from the Federal Government came in July 1862 when the war department issued order number 91. This order decreed that all regimental bandsmen be discharged out of service in 30 days. If the musicians came from the general ranks of the military, they were sent back to their companies. When the commanders of the Union army received word that the bands were to be discharged many delayed actions, but some took immediate action. General Buell, on April 15, 1862 ordered that the bands that were under his command had to be mustered out of service. The first discharging came just after the battle of Shiloh. Immediately before the fight, the band put their instruments down and picked up weapons and fought with the general troops. At the end of the battle the band could not locate their instruments and that is how the band of the 48th Ohio Infantry became the first band discharged under Buell's command. Other bands under his command were given the option of either fighting or leaving and not all were as willing to fight as the 48th had been. The band from the second Iowa regiment left the service rather than fighting at Pittsburgh Landing. Most of the bands under Buell's command were let go in a matter of weeks. The bands that were from Ohio somehow did not receive the word about their termination of service and continued for some time, only to find out later that they would not be paid for their service after the date of the announcement, which they had not received.[36]

The Federal Government did not mandate that all bands had to be terminated. They retained a clause that would allow 16 man bands with a bandleader to continue on

[36] Olson, *Music and Musket*, 75.

as brigade bands. This brigade band would serve three and sometimes more regiments. Many of the men who were let out of the military bands following order number 91 reformed smaller bands and were let back into military service. This act made these bands more selective and ultimately made the bands much better, even more elite. Later in 1862, however, even these regimental bands were deemed unnecessary and disbanded. This order made it difficult for regiments to keep full time musicians in the camp, unless the members of the bands were also members of the regiment proper, the regiment as a whole would have to pay for the bands. Nevertheless, there were numerous ways to circumvent the system when it came to bands. Some of the bands were paid by private funds, others were paid out of regimental and brigade monies. Still others were state militia bands, such as the Seventh New York State Militia Band, which enjoyed considerable success before the war and continued its fine tradition. Since it was a state militia ensemble, federal regulations did not apply to it so its membership was always more than the federally allowed number. There were also Guard bands, like the National Guard bands of today, but these were controlled by the state. [37] Frank Rauscher, a member of the 114th Pennsylvania Regimental Band, was worried about the Federal government's control over the bands. In his journal he discusses how there were many brass bands of all sizes at the onset of the war, but with the act from congress, many of

[37] Olson, *Music and Musket*, 79.

the bands were either reduced or disbanded. The result of this, he felt, let the military with hardly any music.[38]

Even though some of the bands lost some of their members, bands still remained in service and were heard throughout the war. It was not uncommon for two bands on opposing sides of the front, to play for each other during the lulls of the battle. There was a sense of mutual respect between the musicians and this respect was surely appreciated by all, including the regular soldiers who were able to hear two concerts instead of just one. In his account of the aftermath of the battle of Cold Harbor on June 8, 1864 Lieutenant Thompson of the 13th New Hampshire remarked:

> This evening the Band of the Thirteenth goes into the trenches at the front, and indulges in a "competition concert" with a band that is playing over across in the enemy's trenches. The enemy's Band renders Dixie, Bonnie Blue Flag, My Maryland, and other airs dear to the Southerner's heart. Our Band replies with America, Star Spangled Banner, Old John Brown, etc. After a little time, the enemy's band introduces another class of music; only to be joined almost instantly by our Band with the same tune. [39]

This idea of friendly musical competition between the opposing forces helps show again that when not fighting, the men were able to put aside their differences for a time and enjoy the music.

Bands were not just playing before and after the battles, but sometimes even during the battles. One accounts of music on the battlefield comes to us from a man by

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[38] Frank Rauscher, *Music on the March, 1862-'65, with the Army of the Potomac, 114th Regt. P. V., Collis'Zouaves (*Philadelphia: Fell and Co. 1892), 14-15.

[39]Millet Thompson, *Thirteenth Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865: A Diary Covering Three Years and a Day*, 369; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 127.

the name of J.L. Freemantle, a British observer who was perched in a tree by General Lee's headquarters on Seminary Ridge and recounted, "When the cannonade was at its height a Confederate band of music between the cemetery and ourselves, began to play polkas and waltzes, which sounded very curious, accompanied by the hissing and bursting of shells."[40] This idea of bands playing during the heat of battle produces an interesting picture of the sounds of music mingling simultaneously with the sounds of war.

Life in the Band

One of the drawbacks to life as a regimental musician during the civil war was that when not performing one was serving as a hospital corpsman. One of the more picturesque accounts of this particular duty is from a musician from Massachusetts by the name of John Whitcomb:

> I put some considerable value on the service of the band in the several affairs the regiment was engaged in as an Ambulance Corps. . . . The bandsmen had been well taught by the surgeon how to give first aid to the wounded, and how to use stretchers, bandages and tourniquets. We were to go with the regiment into battle, rescue the wounded, if possible, and carry them to the field hospital.[41]

While the musicians were not usually in the direct line of fire during a battle, when needed most did not hesitate to attempt to cross the battlefield to rescue the wounded or

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[40]A.J. Freemantle, *Three Months in the Southern States: April-June 1863*, 266; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 129.

[41] Albert Mann, comp., *History of the Forty-fifth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia: 'The Cadet Regiment*, 190; quoted in Newsom, "The American Brass Band Movement," 133.

to remove the dead. This job, while dangerous, was an important one that no doubt helped to foster a sense of worth to the military for the musicians.

A vivid account of the horrors of the other side of the life of the bandsmen is from the 114th Pennsylvania Zouaves under Frank Rauscher. During the battle of Gettysburg the Zouaves constructed a small hospital just behind Big Round Top. Rauscher described the scene: "The wounded could be counted by the thousands…To and from our hospital the ambulances were running all day…and even during the night…Surgeons were amputation limbs…Frequently the severed arms and legs reached the level of the tables and…under the intense heat of July…the peculiar stench became unbearable." [42] While on hospital duty the bandsmen were not always a welcome sight to the surgeons, however. An assistant surgeon reported that:

> the bands…proved utterly worthless in bringing off the wounded, behaving with utmost cowardice, and required more persons to watch and see that they did their duty than their services were worth. As a natural consequence of this, whenever a man fell out of the ranks wounded, four and sometimes six of his comrades would fall out for the purpose of carrying him away, thus seriously depleting the ranks and affording opportunity to the skulkers and cowards to sneak away. [43]

It needs to be noted that not all people felt the same about the musicians doubling as hospital workers. Some musicians probably fared better than others and took their jobs more seriously while others had a difficult time with their extra duties.

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[42] Rauscher *Music on the March,* 94-95.

[43] U.S. Department of War, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion. Medical and Surgical History,* Medical Volume 1, 70-78; as quoted by Olson, *Music and Musket,* 183.

During the Civil War most musicians in the military had different responsibilities to their units. They were required to perform for dress parades, morning colors, funerals, reviews, guard mounts, etc. There were many instances when many of these events would occur on the same day, so fatigue was a real issue. When not performing band members were also put to work in the kitchens and many Federal bands were forced to play for the execution of deserters towards the end of the war. As noted, when the battle called for it, they became hospital helpers by assisting the surgeons with amputations and other medical duties, and also transporting the wounded and sick as well as burying some of the dead. On July 1, 1863 Julias Leinbach of the 26th North Carolina Band entered this passage into his diary. His company had just suffered terrible casualties at Gettysburg and out of the 800 members of the regiment, only 83 were left on July 4 1863.

> It was therefore with heavy hearts that we went about our duties caring for the wounded. We worked until 11 o'clock that night…At 3 o'clock the next morning I was up again at work. The second day our regiment was not engaged because casualties were so high, but we were busily occupied all day in our sad tasks. While thus engaged, in the afternoon, we were sent…to play for the men, thus perhaps to cheer them somewhat…We accordingly went to the regiment and found the men much more cheerful than we were ourselves... We learned afterwards, from Northern papers, that our playing had been heard across the lines and causes wonder that we should play while fighting was going on around us. Some little while after we left, a bomb struck and exploded very close to the place where we had been standing, no doubt having been intended for us. We got back to camp after dark and found many men in need of attention. Some of those whom we had tried to care for during the day had died during our absence. …We continued our administrations until late at night and early the next morning. [44]

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[44] Bernard Pfohl, *The Salem Band* (Winston-Salem: private, 1953) 78-80 quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 56.

Another example of the dangers of war experienced by a military band occurred during the battle of Dinwiddie Court House. General Sheridan gathered all of the bands under his command; he ordered them to the front line with the infantry and told them to play their loudest tunes and to "never mind if a bullet goes through a trombone or even a trombonist." [45] At the same time a Confederate band was ordered to do the same to counteract the Federal band. The commander reported that, "Our band came up from the rear and cheered and animated our hearts by its rich music; ere long a rebel band replied by giving us southern airs; with cheers from each side in encouragement of its own band, a cross-fire of the 'Star Spangled Banner,' 'Yankee Doodle,' and 'John Brown,' mingled with 'Dixie' and the 'Bonnie Blue Flag'." [46] There are also accounts of a cornet player from a southern band out of Savannah playing for both sides during a fight. When the fighting broke out, he decided not to play out of fear of being shot. Someone from the union army shouted during a lull in the fighting to inquire where the cornet player was and an agreement was reached to cease firing so that the Union army could hear this great southern cornet player. [47] The idea that both armies would negotiate a cease-fire just to hear one musician perform shows the high esteem that accomplished musicians were held in on both sides of the conflict. These examples help to further illustrate the respect that

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[45] Bruce Catton, *A Stillness at Appomattox,* 388-89; quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 57.

[46] Edward Tobie, *History of the First Maine Cavalry1861-1865,*402; quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands*, 57.

[47] Nisbit, *4 Years on the Firing Line*, 204; quoted by Olson, *Music and Musket*, 213.

the musicians were able to earn as well as the value of music to the soldiers during the American Civil War.

5. The 114th and the 26th

There were many bands in service during the Civil War, but there were two bands that were regarded with high esteem throughout the war: the 114th Pennsylvania Zouaves and the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band. One of the unique qualities of these two bands was that two musicians, one from each band, kept very well documented journals that have survived to this day. These two bands were on opposite sides of the war and had their differences, but were also very similar. Many of the bands maintained their flashy and showy uniforms when the war broke out. Since the popular thought was that the war would be over rather quickly the flamboyant costumes of the bands helped to foster the image of a speedy victory. As the war raged on, however, the need for bands increased, and with these needs most of the bands were forced to change their uniforms to the traditional uniforms of the day. Most of the bands could not afford to maintain their expensive uniforms. One of the very rare examples of a band that could maintain their "special" uniforms was Frank Rauscher's Cornet Band from Germantown, Pennsylvania, later known as the 114th Volunteer.

Figure 5.1: 114th Zouave Band (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

This group of musicians is very fortunate to have been recorded in history because one of their members, Frank Rauscher, published the story of the band in 1892 in a book entitled, "*Music on the March, 1862-65, with the Army of the Potomac, 114th Regt. P.V., Collis' Zouaves*".[48] The following account is drawn from that book. Another unique distinction that the band held is that it was the only band to maintain all of its membership and to remain in service throughout the entire war despite the government restrictions upon musical ensembles in the military. This feat was accomplished with the help of the musicians hometown, the fact that they had a patron, and their musical ability that resulted in the band becoming a favorite of the officers. This band wore the uniforms of the Zouaves d'Afrique of General Charles Collis. This choice of uniforms was not at all uncommon at the outset of the war in both the North and the South and the 114th's uniforms were modeled after the French fighting troops in Africa with their red pants, Zouave jackets, white leggings, blue waist sash, and white turbans. Most of the other bands with similar uniforms soon had to discard them because upkeep was too costly. The 114th Zouaves were different in that they had a patron. The band was looked after by a successful wool merchant in Germantown by the name of Captain F.A. Elliot. He made sure that the band always had enough material from France to keep their uniforms looking impressive. The musician's hometown, Germantown, Pennsylvania, also took great pride in their musicians and helped to support them throughout the war, no doubt helping to keep the band in service.

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[48] Frank Rauscher. *Music on the March, 1862-'65, with the Army of the Potomac, 114th Regt. P. V., Collis'Zouaves (*Philadelphia: Fell and Co. 1892).

The band was actually captured during the war outside of Fredericksburg and a Confederate band took their expensive instruments. After their release from prison, they returned to their unit and a new set of instruments was waiting for them, paid for by private subscription. Another example of Captain Elliot 's generosity and involvement is apparent in this quote from their leader, Frank Rauscher "As instrumental musicians, they were amateurs and beginners, but with a fair knowledge of music as vocalists, by close application they made rapid progress. . . .When the band was started, [Captain Elliott] became a helpful friend of the project, subscribing liberally toward procuring the instruments, and afterward assisted in supplying the members with uniforms."[49] This method of forming a band was by far not the norm. This ensemble from Germantown gives us a very interesting look into the daily life of the band during their time in the military.

Before the band went off to war the Zouaves gave a preview concert for the people of Philadelphia and the surrounding communities at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia. As the band left to join up with their regiment the first, and only, casualty of the war for the band occurred. One of the men fell off of the train that they were traveling in and onto the tracks, and was killed by the train. Once the band arrived in Washington D.C. the men were very upset and shocked with what their job really entailed. When they signed up for duty, they were under the impression that they would just be performing music when they felt like it and they would not really have a set

[49] Rauscher, *Music on the March* , 13.

schedule to follow with the Army. They felt that they were a little better than the regular soldiers and even the other musicians. When they were given a schedule of concerts, serenades, and guard mounts at which they were expected to perform, they were shocked. Soon after their arrival in Washington, they left with their brigade for a long march into eventual battle. The band members, being very idealistic about the war, carried heavy packs full of personal belongings from home that they felt that they could not live without. Not long into the march the bandsmen began to discard these belongings from their packs. The march that day was 25 miles and since their packs at the beginning of the march were full of their personal effects, they put their tents in a wagon that was supposed to follow right behind the regiment. By the time nightfall came around the wagons were lost and the men had no tents. The regular fighting men of the army had packed their own tents, but the musicians, thinking that they did not need to carry their own possessions, had left theirs on the lost wagons. The band was forced to sleep out under the stars and was very put off by this experience. Soon after this event the regiment marched through a town with a newspaper and found out that they were now under the command of General Burnside and not General McClellan. No one in the regiment knew of this until they read it in the newspaper. This is a good illustration of the level of communication in the military during this time.

After arriving in Fredericksburg, the band camped on the banks of the Rappahannock River. During the ensuing battle the band worked in the hospital and then had to run to serenade the officers. The band was under orders and not very happy about being told where to go and what to do. One of the low points of the band's service

happened that evening after the initial battle. The band was camped to the side of the fighting men on the banks of the river and during the night the Confederate troops encircled the Union position and waited until morning. The rest of the fighting forces of the Federal army were able to escape since they realized what was going on. However, no one bothered to let the band in on the evacuation. When the bandsmen awoke they left their tents and were promptly greeted by Confederate troops and captured. As part of their capture, the Confederate soldiers ordered that federal band turn over their instruments. The band members thought that this was a terrible idea and the commanding Confederate general, General Archer, had to be called in to intervene. He ordered that the instruments must be turned over. The bandsmen argued that the instruments were their personal property and not the government's, so they should be allowed to keep them. General Archer thought that this was ridiculous, got mad, and took their instruments.

After their capture they were taken to Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia. This prison experience was even worse than the daily army life for the musicians. They remarked that there was never enough food for everyone, but their biggest complaint was that they could not keep clean since there were no facilities or soap. Disease was running rampant throughout Libby prison. Small pox and black measles were the two main diseases and it is interesting that the band members were concerned about hygiene and that they knew that if they could keep clean, they might not get sick. The room that the bandsmen were held in was above the morgue and each day the men could see down

through the floorboards into the room below and would count anywhere from six to ten dead prisoners a day.

As miserable as life seemed at Libby Prison it was not always full of sorrow for the soldiers. Even though their instruments were taken from them they were allowed to keep their packs and other personal effects. Each day Confederate citizens would line up at one wall of the prison and offer to buy the personal effects from the federal prisoners. Material goods were starting to become scarce in Richmond at this point of the war. The bandsmen would sell their rubber blankets, which they did not need at this time, to the citizens and were paid 25 confederate dollars for each blanket, which had only cost them three dollars originally. The other big-ticket item was shoes. The bandsmen were able to sell their old shoes for six dollars apiece. After they sold their possessions the prisoners would go to a different section of the prison where the people of Richmond would bring meat and fruit pies and sell the prisoners pieces of the pies. The band was able to sustain itself using this type of trade in the prison. Finally, the band was exchanged since it was early in the war and prisoner exchanges were still taking place. Once they were released they were placed onto a boat and taken to a parole camp. The parole camp was a place for the soldiers to receive medical attention and to get processed back to their units. The men were very excited on the boat because they were able to buy liquor. Once they arrived at the parole camp they were given large quantities of food and were very pleased with the quality of the dining services. One facet of the parole camp that the men liked was that they were given new instruments, which had been funded by the citizens of Germantown. Another highlight of parole camp was that they received all of their back pay from their

time in prison. Life was not void of misery for the musicians in the parole camp, the guards in the camp were local people from Baltimore and they took advantage of the other men by robbing them just after they received their pay. After they got their instruments the Zouaves remarked that they were now beginning to feel like a band again. They finally got back to their regiment and their commanding officer, Col. Sangster, gave them free run in the commissary as his way of welcoming back the band. After a very short time back with the regiment, the band was transferred back to the parole camp to become the official parole camp band. The band was a large success and was in demand all over the city and even in Annapolis.

After some time the band was transferred to General Hooker's command at the front, which was not very popular with the musicians. They hated to hear reveille so early in the morning. Each morning the corps bugler blew reveille from one distant side of the camp, then the division bugler repeated the call a little further into the camp. After this call the brigade bugler gave the call again, and finally the regimental bugler finished the call. The only call that the band enjoyed was "tattoo", which signaled the end of the day and time for bed. The musicians hated the lack of musicality that the calls forced upon some of the players, but they understood the significance of each one. Not long after they were back at the front, General Meade took over for Hooker and began to march the troops up to Gettysburg. The men did not mind this march since sometimes people along the route were waiting for them and gave them tobacco and liquor. It seemed that whenever the band had liquor and tobacco they were a lot more content with whatever else was going on. Once they arrived in Gettysburg they were immediately put

to work in the hospitals. It was during this battle that the band was made aware of the many benefits of chloroform and also realized its deadly downside. They also were aware of the sheer horror of war and commented about the number of amputated limbs just piling up alongside the operating tables that the musicians had to dispose of. The stench of the situation was also not a very fond memory for the musicians.

After Gettysburg the band went with General French. This was a great experience for the band because the general loved everything that the band did. Under French's command the troops often started their marches with reveille at 3:00 AM, but whenever there were any treats like berries or any other food along side of the road the troops were let loose upon the fields and this seemed to keep up the morale of the musicians on these long marches. During this period the band received new instruments, their third set since joining the army. It was not uncommon for the band to be taken away from camp to the company headquarters to serenade the officers. One such concert program was made up of the following selections:

Hell on the Rappahannock
Potpurri from "Trovature"
Bild der Rose
Overature to Nebuchadnezzar
Selections from Lucia
Trap-Trap Galop

This concert was played in the evening and required the assistance of candle boys to hold the candles so that the musicians could see their music. The first piece on the program was a work that was written by another Federal band just after the battle on the banks of the Rappahannock during which the 114th band had been captured.

The commanding officers at the company headquarters thought very highly of the musicians. The 114th was given special assignments quite frequently and was performing much more regularly at the headquarters than any of the other bands twice its size. Being the favorite band of the commanding officers was a great advantage: even though the band had to perform more than normal, they were compensated by being fed well after their performances for the officers. This was a prized reward given the lack of food in the camps.

During the later part of the war the band constantly complained about being played out, meaning that they were tired of playing and fatigued. During this time the Federal government was procuring troops from France to help increase their numbers. Almost all of the French soldiers were eager to join the Zouave troops since they recognized the name as a French fighting force, but were very surprised and disappointed to find out that the troops were not French at all!

The musicians relied heavily upon their families and home community for support and to help to boost their morale. For Christmas of 1863 a large package containing all the elements of a Christmas day feast arrived. The band was also looking for outside playing opportunities and during this time the band was also playing in churches to aid in the worship service. The members of the 114th even took on additional duties, such as picking up arms for the first time towards the end of the war. They were paid extra to take a boatload of Confederate prisoners to a prison camp and they were very excited to have this new assignment since they were assigned weapons. The bandsmen wrote that they were a little nervous holding firearms for the first time and really hoped that none of

the prisoners would get out of line. The final function of the band came on May 23, 1864 when they cleaned themselves up for the final review down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. The musicians expressed a sense of shock at seeing General Sherman's troops displaying the treasures that they had taken as spoils of the war during the parade. They talked about feeling remorse for the unfortunate people who lost their possessions and about the way that Sherman's men seemed to gloat about their new possessions. They felt that this was not what war, as they knew of, was about. [50]

Another successful brass band during the Civil War was the 26th regimental band from Salem, Virginia.

Figure 5.2: 26th North Carolina Regimental Band (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

This group was not a typical Confederate band. The band was made up of accomplished musicians who were mostly trained in the German style of playing. They received this

[50] Rauscher, *Music on the March.*

training since they were from Salem and were all members of the Moravian Church which placed a high value on music. The Moravians were very highly regarded for their education and their strong awareness of their history. In this regard they are similar to the 114th Zouave Band due to their heritage. Another unique facet of this band is that there is an accurate journal account of their activities throughout the war, which was kept by J.A. Leinbach. Leinbach's history with the band is interesting in that when the band first went off to war he was the E-flat bass player; after a few years he switched instruments with the second B-flat cornet player. A written record, such as this, is uncommon for Confederate bands. Most Federal regiments had a historian attached to the unit, but many Confederate units did not have a historian who could document the band. The following description of the lives of the bandsmen from Salem is taken from Leinbach's journal excerpted in Harry Hall's book entitled, "*A Johnny Reb Band From Salem*".[51]

Before the outbreak of the Civil War, a group of Salem musicians had formed a brass band. As the fighting became imminent the musicians performed at many spirit-raising functions and did their best to provide entertainment for the civilians as well as the troops from neighboring. Soon after the outbreak of the Civil War the Salem Brass Band decided to join in the war effort. They left Salem for camp on March 5, 1862 and became the 26th Regimental Band from North Carolina. When they left Salem they had exactly eight members, just enough to fill out a full brass band: E-flat cornet, 1st B-flat

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[51] Harry Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem* (Raleigh, N.C.: The North Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission, 1963).

cornet, 2nd B-flat cornet, 1st E-flat alto, 2nd E-flat alto, 1st B-flat tenor, 2nd B-flat tenor, and E-flat bass. Before they left for camp the men had gathered as many luxury items as they could such as blankets, mess kits, and their personal instruments. They also left town with their own personal band uniforms. This fits the pattern of other Confederate units, in that the Confederate Army mandated an exact uniform, but neither the Army nor the Government would pay it, and thus it was up to the individual soldier to bring their own uniform. Once in camp the band began its daily schedule: 8:00 A.M. playing for guard mount, playing at the evening dress parade, a short concert every evening, and playing for regimental inspection every Sunday and at all brigade reviews.

One of the most difficult functions for the band was to learn how to play while marching and there was a lot of extra time put into just practicing their marching skills. The bandsmen thought that life was pretty good while they were here in camp with a set schedule. When they were called upon to go to the front with the regiment, they musicians quickly lost their formerly optimistic view. It was during their first battle, at New Bern, North Carolina, that the musicians got their first taste of what war really was and they did not particularly care for it. It is interesting that after the battle, in which New Bern fell, the band members were on their own for a few days until they rejoined their regiment at Kinston. During this time period, the musicians were not concerned about being away from their unit. When they finally rejoined their regiment in camp they returned to their regular schedule and became once again happy with military camp life. When they were not playing for the troops, they were performing in the churches and they began to develop the idea of promoting their musical abilities. The musicians began

to notice that at each evening concert there were a number of ladies and gentlemen from the neighboring town of Kinston. The band decided that they could make a little money by going to Kinston and giving concerts there instead of having the citizens of Kinston come to the camp. After their first try at outside employment, the two concerts resulted in a take of 420 dollars that was promptly split up in order to donate the proceeds to the six regimental and brigade hospitals. It is an interesting coincidence that at the same time that the 26th regimental band was entertaining Kinston, the town of New Bern, just 30 miles away, was being treated to another fine band, the 24th regimental band of Massachusetts, led by Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore.

The good times of camp were soon forgotten as the band went with the regiment to defend Richmond. During this battle, the musicians were put to service as hospital workers. Soon after the battle was over a member of the 26th regiment found a very nice brass bass horn and immediately presented it to the band. The new instrument was far superior to the one currently played in the band so the band left the battle with a new instrument. After the battle the band members were paid and received time off to visit their families. The band had hoped to give a series of concerts in Salem during their time off, but some members of the band were very sick so they put off their concertizing for later. The musicians then were granted an extension of furlough because of the continued sickness of some of the members. During this time the former Colonel of the 26th regiment, Colonel Zebulon Vance, was running for Governor of North Carolina and wanted the Salem band to play during some political rallies. Colonel Vance won the election and the band played at his inauguration. The band took advantage of this

situation to arrange for some extra concerts in some neighboring towns. After this little tour the health of some of the band members began to get worse. Many of the musicians were at home on sick leave and one member even passed away while at home. This unfortunate casualty was the only one for the band during its time in the military. The bandsmen had some time to go back to Salem and arranged a full concert schedule that netted them $896. This large amount of money, for the time, may not have all come from concert revenue. Since the performances were in their hometown there may have been some donations in addition to the asking ticket price, due to the popularity of the ensemble. After this concert trip the money was not donated to charity, but kept by the musicians for later use. This was to prove a wise decision.

After this trip home the band met up with their regiment and began the march north to Gettysburg. Along the way they were camped along one side of the Rappahannock River and the Federal army was camped on the other side. A battle of the bands broke out and 26th regimental band did their part to help a Confederate musical victory. After this encampment the troops continued north to Gettysburg and the order came down that no extra belongings, such as personal and luxury items, were to be taken any further. This was not good news for the musicians as they were able to keep up a better lifestyle than the rest of the troops because of the personal items from home and the extra luxuries that they had been able to purchase with their concert revenue. During the ensuing long marches the regiment met up with other troops and other bands. When camped the bands were all eager to showcase their musical abilities and to also play for the troops, who were a very appreciative audience. These concerts featured three or more

bands playing back to back often until well after dark. These opportunities provided the 26th regimental band members with an opportunity to measure their skills as musicians against other musicians of the time.

After the battle of Gettysburg the Confederate troops were retreating and the band had stayed behind to continue to tend to the wounded and sick in the hospital. The men were doing more and more assisting with surgeries and were becoming very confident about their abilities. Leinbach wrote that,

> [b]y this time we had had considerable experience in giving first aid to the wounded and I for one got myself to believe that I could amputate a man's leg as well as some of the doctors; having so often helped in the several processes of applying tourniquet, cutting and slipping back the skin for a flap to cover the end of the stump, then cutting the flesh, tying the arteries, sawing and trimming the bone and closing the sound. There were no antiseptics used. Such a thing as blood poisoning was not thought of, it had not been invented. Gangrene seemed to be the only later danger that was feared. Chloroform was of course administered in cases of severe operations. During the time of unconsciousness, most of them would lay perfectly quiet; some however, would sing, some few perhaps swear while others would pray. One man in particular, I remember, prayed at the top of his voice during the whole time that his leg was being taken off as I never heard one pray before nor since. The limbs that were amputated were usually buried by us unless some of the ambulance corps were ordered to do it. [52]

As the musicians began to leave they became separated from the rest of the troops and were stuck in a sort of no-mans land while trying to get back to Virginia. The musicians had no food, and were very tired. They tried to negotiate for some food from a farmer but it was very costly and the rest of the musicians, thinking that the price was too high,

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[52] Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem,* 96.

sneaked around to the back of the house and pilfered every food item that was not under lock and key. This is the first time that the men from Salem broke from their moral and ethical codes that they had so far taken great pride in maintaining. There is some remorse but they justify their actions to fit their situation.

After the musicians caught up with the other members of the regiment they resumed a somewhat normal schedule while in camp. One interesting event during this time was the visit from another musician from the 14th South Carolina regimental band. This type of visitation was fairly common and helped to create an almost standard repertoire throughout all of the bands during the Civil War. During these visits the musicians would copy each other's musical books and discuss musical aspects of each other's lives. After this exchange the band resumed marching with the troops, but then everyone got a break for a week outside the town of Culpeper, Virginia around July 25, 1863. While encamped here the musicians were able to purchase personal effects to help them out in their daily lives. The musicians were upset over the prices, however: imitation coffee was one dollar a package and ink was a dollar a package, soda crackers were one dollar for 16. These prices were set by the out-of-control inflation that was rampant throughout the Confederacy, which for the average soldier seemed like robbery. If it were not for the monies that the musicians were able to make on the side freelancing, they would never have been able to afford these simple luxuries. Another facet of life in camp that the musicians discerned was the general lack of proper hygiene. There are descriptions of all sorts of afflictions such as having to shave beards because of the infested hair.

It was during this time that the members of the band began to feel like an unimportant aspect of the military. They had requested a furlough and for the first time ever it was denied. This denial of leave was due to the growing problem of desertion in the Confederate military, and not due to a decline of their performance ability. Also, up to this point the band members thought of themselves as an independent group of musicians attached to the regiment. It was now found out that they were currently classified as conscripted troops of the Confederacy. With this change the officers no longer had to pay the salaries of the musicians out of their own pockets, and in turn it was now more difficult for the musicians to be paid. After this incident the band put in a formal request for a transfer; while awaiting word of their transfer the band was to perform in a formal review on September 11, 1863. This review included 30,000 men and the 26th regimental band had the opportunity to hear many other fine bands and to play and observe others until after three o'clock in the morning. While they were surrounded by all of these other musicians, they took advantage of the time and copied many arrangements out of the other band's books.

During the encampment the camp commander, General Kirkland, sent for one of the cornet players to play bugle calls for the troops during formation drills. The general gave Sam Mikey, the first E-flat cornet player, a book and told him to memorize all of the calls in the book. The musician memorized a few of the calls, but was not able to memorize all of them. To make matters worse, he did not even bother to memorize the names of the few calls that he committed to memory. When the time came for the musician to accompany the general on the parade grounds the cornet player promptly

stood up and played whatever call he felt like for whatever command the general gave. These exercises lasted for two hours and after it was over the musicians of the 26th Regimental Band were never asked to play bugle calls again. It must have been a bizarre sight to see a general confidently giving out moving orders to a cornet player, the cornet player playing whatever call he felt like playing, and then the troops not knowing what direction to go or what to do.

Later in September 1863, the request for transfer came through and the band was once again given privilege by their association with the then Governor of North Carolina, Colonel Vance. While the band was ironing out the details with all of the commanding officers in charge they had to follow the troops into another battle. After a terrible defeat the regiment was running very low on supplies. They had hardly any clothing and they were forced to use parched white acorns in place of coffee. During this time period the level of desertion in the confederate army was at an all time high, due to the string of defeats, the lack of food, the lack of clothing and the inability of the government to pay the troops.

It was nearing the time for winter quarters and upon reaching camp the musicians wasted little time in setting up shelter. They built two huts; one for four men, and the other a larger hut for seven that was also large enough to double as a rehearsal hall. Each member of the band was given household chores in order to take care of the facilities during the time in winter quarters. The musicians were still playing for money outside of their regular duties and was able to afford luxury items such as salt, bacon, and crackers all at one dollar a pound, roughly 50 dollars today. They were able to get an opossum for

a special treat and oysters for five dollars a quart for another special occasion. There were also the occasional packages from home that contained all sorts of goodies for the men, from food to music. It was in one of these care packages that the band received three new pieces of music from Miss Amelia A. Van Vleck of Salem. Around Christmas the musicians celebrated the Moravian Love Feast, a Moravian Christmas Eve celebration of carols and food, which helped to promote the feelings of home throughout the group. On Christmas morning the musicians went into town to try and buy more food, but all of the shops were closed. They were able to find some brandy and the mood was somewhat elevated by this find. Finally, towards the end of January 1864, the band was granted furlough and was able to go home and visit with their families.

After returning from furlough, the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band received word that the governor, Colonel Vance, wanted them to accompany him on a series of speaking engagements around the state. They agreed to this request since it gave them a lengthened leave of absence from their regimental duties. Everywhere that the band went they were greeted by large groups of very appreciative audiences. The band was able, once again, to give freelance concerts and charge two dollars a ticket for some performances. This price of two Confederate dollars a ticket helps to illustrates the massive inflation of Confederate money at the time. With nothing to back up their currency, the money was printed and distributed at will, resulting in a lot of money in circulation, but it was not worth anything. As a result of inflation, the revenue from these concerts was not enough for the band to buy as much as before. The band was told to report back to its regiment on the 27th of February 1864, but it was not until March 1,

1864, two days late, that the band decided to return to the troops. There was no punishment whatsoever for the band for being late. Nevertheless, the musicians were not happy about rejoining the war effort. Things were not going well at this point for the Confederacy and the musicians were able to make a lot of money on the side. Their position within the regiment was still not clarified, and because of this, they were awaiting the possibility of a transfer to another unit that would appreciate them more. Their uniforms, like those of all of the other men in the regiment, were in shreds but the band was able to use their money to buy new ones. One bright spot for the band happened on March 23, 1864. The brigade was stuck in a snowstorm that left over a foot of snow on the ground. For relief, the officers formed the men into two fighting forces and marched out into a field and had a large-scale snowball fight.

Throughout the war the bandsmen were always looking for ways to become more educated and improve themselves as musicians. Even during the tough times they were able to arrange for the bandmaster of the 16th Mississippi Band, a Mr. William H. Hartwell, to come and critique the band and offer guidance. During this visit the band was able to copy some of Hartwell's music and greatly added to their music libraries.

As the winter turned to spring the lack of food was becoming a problem. The musicians commented that their regular meals were made up of, "corn bread and bacon, with the occasional change to bacon and corn bread." [53] As the war continued, life became more and more difficult for the musicians, they were given extra duties as cooks,

[53] Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem,* 84.

but food was in very short supply. Throughout the entire time they continued to play for the troops and always tried to be a musically sound organization. Considering the state of the Confederacy, the freelance work was drying up and the men no longer had the money for better food and malnutrition was beginning to make the future seem bleak. Whenever food was available, the men would gorge themselves and then starve for another week. In addition to their cooking and cleaning duties, the hospital chores of the musicians were also increasing.

The state of the Confederacy was apparent in this quote from one of the musicians,

> What have I to complain of just now is that I well good be reduced to the condition of the little 'niggers' one often sees, who can boast of a very scanty supply of clothing unless our quartermaster soon returns from Raleigh with a supply. I have a shirt and one pair of drawers in pretty good condition. And the other garments I possess are only in part. From the top of my head to the soles of my feet-well, Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like I am. My hat is one that I had discarded long ago; my coat or jacket has long since ceased to make any pretensions to respectability; the ends of the sleeves have been faced with material of a different color and are drawn and tuckered into a pretty fair representative of a sucker's mouth. My pants, - it is not worthwhile to say where they have given out. Sox heelless and toeless and shoes on having sole and body tied together with strings and the other badly run down and busted. Such is my picture at present. I hope sometime to present a more respectable appearance. [54]

This statement of racism is the first indication of the feelings of the musicians in their writings. It speaks of the despair and the miserable conditions that the bandsmen were

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[54] Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem,* 97.

subjected to throughout the war. Not long after this account of their clothing the despair of the men was apparent when one of the musicians, Ed Leinbach, wrote home, "Time will show what the end will be and I care not much how soon it comes."[55]

It was after another unsuccessful Confederate stand near Petersburg, Virginia that the musicians and their regiment fell back towards North Carolina. This move was anticipated by the Federal troops and the Union Army was in full pursuit of the Confederate troops. The musicians thought that they had gotten away from the pursuing military and stopped to play the tune "Lorina." This would prove to be the very last piece of music that the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band would ever play. The band was able to hide from the Federal troops, but eventually were captured and sent to prison in Petersburg. Before they were transported the band was stripped of all of their instruments except for two, one of which was stowed away inside of one of the members' packs, and the other of which was with a musician at home. Before they left for the prison, the Salem musicians were fed a good solid meal and were very grateful for the treatment that they received. As the musicians were being transferred to their prison in Point Lookout, Maryland, they were very depressed and not at all happy about their surroundings. It was April 14th, 1865 and the musicians were aware that the events at Appomattox had already taken place. The band was put into a large facility with a tent over it along with about 3000 other prisoners.

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[55] Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem,* 100.

The musicians were in the prison camp when Abraham Lincoln was assassinated and were very careful not to show any emotion about the event. The guards at the prison were African-American Federal soldiers. The musicians commented that they were being "guarded by 'niggers.' Could anything be more humiliating?" [56] This is the second instance of racism in the journal of the 26th North Carolina Band and it further illustrates the level of misery and the change in the outlook of the men. The band was upset by the lack of sanitary measures inside of the prison. They were given very little food and the overcrowded conditions began to take a toll on the men's psyche. The musicians were finally released one by one and after three months, the last member, Ed Leinbach, left the camp on June 28th. The timing for Mr. Leinbach is very fortunate because he was able to see his mother for the last time since his mother passed away five days after his return home. After some rest and recuperation at home the band was without instruments, but still wished to perform as the Salem Brass Band, just as they did before the war. The band held a benefit concert on December 29, 1865 in order to raise money for the new instruments that they had just purchased since most of the instruments were lost during the war. [57]

In summary, in the accounts of these two bands one can see the same optimism at the onset of the war, and then the level of despair rises throughout the war. The similarities between the two bands is striking especially that they were actually playing

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[56] Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem,* 107.

[57] Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem.*

against each other along the banks of the Rappahannock. Both also were forced to experience the harsh reality of prison life. It is interesting to note the amount of leave time that the Confederate band would receive and that it did not matter if they were late in returning from their leave. The Federal Band did not have as generous leave policies during the war. This could either be an example of the state of the command structure of the Confederacy, or simply that the band was held in such high regard, that the military was just happy to have them back. Whenever the men of the 26th North Carolina band were ill, they did not just go the camp hospital, they went home. After they got better they came back into the band so the instrumentation of the ensemble was not always the same or complete thus resulting in a variety of instrumentation notated in their band books.

The Union band was much better funded, not just through their sponsor, but also by the military. Even though as the war went on both governments were running out of money, both the common soldier and officer saw the great benefit of having a band attached to the unit. The officers enjoyed the band for their own private concerts and appreciated the morale boost that the musicians gave the common soldiers. The musicians themselves took great pride in their service also. They tried their best to keep their uniforms in respectable condition and they took great pride in their instruments. It is a shame that the 26th regimental band lost all of their instruments, except for two, since the men found their identity in those instruments.

Both sets of musicians were able to keep themselves slightly more furnished than the average soldier throughout the war. For the Union musicians, the money came from

home and from what they already had, for the Confederate musicians it came from their freelancing abilities and actively seeking out opportunities to perform. The Union journal does not talk about any freelancing opportunities and it is possible that the Union Army had tighter control over their bands' free time. Both bands were hit with the harsh reality of inflation as both discuss the exorbitant prices for food and other items during the later part of the war.

The amount of communication between the bands is a very important aspect of the musical activities of the military. Since there was not one central governing body for the musicians, band members actively sought out other musicians whom they admired and received additional music and training. The band books of the 26th regiment are full of pieces that are attributed to other bands. The free trade of music helped to unify the repertoire of the ensembles. In this instance, both the 26th and the 114th had similar pieces in their band books. The success of the two bands came from their training. The Moravians that made up the band from Salem had their roots in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and were all trained and accomplished musicians. Both the 114th Pennsylvania Band and the 26th North Carolina Band were made up of musicians who were trained in the German style so their playing and their music would have been similar. Bandsmen from both groups were very aware of having to practice to get better and their desire to better themselves speaks volumes to their commitment to their music and to the troops. The talent and ability of the musicians was illustrated when second B-flat cornet player switched positions and instruments with the Bass player and apparently there was no let off in the ability of the overall group.

Figure 5.3: 114th Pennsylvania "Zouave" Band (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

Figure 5.4: 26th North Carolina Regimental Band (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

In examining photographs of the two bands we can notice some interesting differences, the most obvious difference being the discrepancy of size. In the picture above the 114th band is made up of 14 musicians while the 26th band has only eight members. Through the examination of the 26th band books we know that there were a

total of 12 members at the height of the band. The 114th also includes percussion in their band; the 26th, by the end of the war, did as well. In the photograph of the 114th, there are three percussionists in the outfit: one bass drum, one rope tension side drum, and cymbals The instruments that were used by these two bands are quite different. The musicians of the 114th were outfitted with a matched set of over-the-shoulder instruments that were probably very expensive. The band went through three sets of instruments like these, all paid for by either their patron or the citizens of Germantown.. The uniforms were also all similar and very distinctive; again, this was due to their patron and the Union standards that were enforced during this time.

The photograph of the 26th band illustrates a different story. Two immediate differences are seen in the pictures of the bands. The 26th's uniforms are all mismatched due to the inability of the Confederacy to enforce their uniform regulations, and the wide variety of instruments that the band was performing on. In the picture the 26th band is using bell front cornets, upright E-flat altos and tenor horns, with an over-the-shoulder bass horn with a mixture of piston and rotary valves. Obviously this instrumentation does not coincide with the ideas that Patton was promoting in the matching of instrument styles. This mix of instruments was most likely the norm for most bands during the Civil War who were not as fortunate as the 114th to be supported by a wealthy patron. We are fortunate to know the names of all of the members in the photograph of the 26th North Carolina Regimental Band and it is interesting that not everyone in the photograph was actually in the band! The person on the far left of the photograph holding the tenor horn is James Fisher. When the photograph was taken, in the summer of 1862, the regular

tenor player, Alexander Meinung was very sick and the musicians recruited a friend, James Fisher to stand in for the picture. The other musicians in the picture, from left to right are: Julius Leinbach on bass, Daniel Crouse on tenor one, Augustus Houser on E-flat alto one, William Hall on E-flat alto two, Joe Hall on B-flat cornet two, A.P. Gibson on B-flat cornet one, and the leader Sam Mickey on E-flat cornet.[58]

[58] Nola Reed Knouse. Liner Notes, *A Storm in the Land*, New World Records, 2002, 6.

6. The Music of the 26th

The repertoire for the 26th Regimental Band from Salem, North Carolina was a varied collection of music from many different genres. Their books contain pieces that are original compositions by members of the band: waltzes, marches, and quicksteps. There are also quite a few selections that are original arrangements of operatic marches and arias such as the slow march from Donizetti's *Belisario* and a piece entitled *Trovatore Quickstep* that is based on tunes from Verdi's opera by the same name. There are also arrangements of works by well-known classical composers of the time such as Schubert and Beethoven. The band also played popular pieces of the time from composers such as Stephen Foster. We are very fortunate that while the individual instruments have been lost, due to the band's time in prison, the music books have survived. The books are currently held in the controlled environment of the archives vault of The Moravian Music Foundation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and while the books do show the wear of being used heavily, considering their age, they are in remarkable condition. The only exception is one book whose owner, Charlie Transou, was carrying the book in his pocket when he was shot: and the book saved his life, but suffered a hole in the cover. [59] The cover of that pierced book is pictured below.

[59] Hall, *A Johnny Reb Band from Salem* , 70. On August 2, 1864 the band was under fire for one of the few times during the war and Transou was shot and when he was examined it was discovered that the bullet was lodged in the band book he was carrying in his pocket, so his life was saved by the music.

Figure 6.1: Transou's music with the bullet still in it (courtesy of Pictorial Histories Publishing).

These books are considered the only complete set of band books left from the bands of the Confederacy and are an extremely valuable link to the history of the American brass band. There are six volumes of music in the collection. Within each volume the pieces are numbered with the volume number first then the selection number second. For example, piece 2.14 would be found in the second volume as the fourteenth selection in the volume. All of the music that is found in the books is written by hand by the individual musician that would be using the book. If one member was back at home on sick leave, there is a chance that he would not have had a part in some of the music that was copied or composed during his absence. Most of the manuscript paper used in the books was lined by hand, but there are some pages in the book that are from a commercially produced manuscript book. For the most part the penmanship is very clear and precise; however, there are instances of better writing style than others, such as out of order key signatures and sloppily added measures. The high and the low brass players consistently have the better penmanship throughout all of the books than the E-flat alto players who left behind parts that are a little more troublesome to decipher, and

sometimes unreadable. Since ink and paper were at a premium, the musicians took every opportunity to conserve ink. This included repeat signs for individual measures and individual shorthand notation for repeated articulations within a measure. The musicians took great care adding in accents and other articulation marks that no doubt helped to develop their reputation as a more than competent musical ensemble. Whenever possible the bandsmen tried to make reading and performing their music as easy as possible. It is not uncommon to find random lines of music in-between the staves in order to facilitate not having to turn a page. These books were customized for the individual player, and while it was probably easy for the men of the 26th to read the books it is a difficult task for others. The books were certainly of great value to the musicians; after all they had put so much time and energy into the books that it would be a tragedy if one were to be lost.

One of the most popular works that the band performed throughout their service was apiece entitled *Southern Victorial March*. This march has the distinction of being the most worn composition in all of the band books with the pages showing exposure to both the rain and other elements. The *Southern Victorial March* was written by William Hartwell, the bandleader of the 18th Mississippi Regimental Band. Hartwell was a very prominent bandleader in the Confederacy and the 26th band thought very highly of him and invited him for a master class type setting where he would critique the band and offer instruction. This piece has some sections that are very musically demanding for all of the instrumentalists, but there are times when the rest of the ensemble plays an accompanimental role to the E-flat cornet. *Southern Victorial March* begins with an

introduction that simultaneously demonstrates both the power of the ensemble through dynamics, and the virtuosity of the musicians. Throughout the first section the music is dominated by a very expressive and demanding E-flat cornet line with the other parts serving as simple accompaniment. After this initial section the E-flat cornetist gets to take a rest and the first B-flat cornet player gets the opportunity to illustrate their musicality with the rest of the ensemble still playing the role of accompaniment. The final section of the piece begins with a fast and furious climb throughout the band and then the E-flat cornet comes through with a delicate solo line that continues to climb into an increasingly difficult tessitura that is also punctuated with syncopation until the final chord. *Southern Victorial March* primarily stays in the key of E-flat Major and develops a very strong tonic to dominant relationship throughout the piece. The three sections of the piece are related by their key, but are thematically different in nature resulting in a through composed piece. The E-flat cornet part is very difficult as it is more like a solo piece than an ensemble piece. The presence of a section of rests that comes in the second section of the piece for the E-flat cornetist is both welcomed and foreboding: welcome in that the opening is difficult and the rest is warranted, but foreboding because of the even more difficult section to come. This piece is a classic example of the type of pieces that were very popular for the men of the Confederacy and also speaks very highly of the musician's individual ability on their instruments. It is remarkable that the musicians' were able to perform this music when the condition of the parts as well as the sheer difficulty of the piece for some of the musicians, is taken into account.

The quintessential piece of music for any confederate brass band would have been an arrangement of *Dixie,* and the 26th regimental band was no exception. The piece itself is full of contradictions. Daniel Emmett, who was from Ohio, originally wrote the piece in 1859 to be used as walking music in a minstrel show in New York. The song gained so much popularity that it was one on President Abraham Lincoln's favorite melodies.[60] There are many versions of *Dixie* and the original version with lyrics is rarely heard anymore. The original song has five verses with verse one being the words that we currently associate with the song. Verses two through five are full of common words of the time and are meant to be silly.

There were many individual arrangements of the familiar melody and the musicians in the 26th came up with their own. The musicians in the band took another popular confederate tune *Bonnie Blue Flag* and combined it with *Dixie*. The song *Bonnie Blue Flag* is not as well know today as *Dixie* but during the Civil War it was also a symbol of national identity for the Confederate States of America.[61] *Bonnie Blue Flag* began as an adaptation of an Irish folk song and as each state seceded from the Union they were given a personalized line in the music and the popularity of the song took off as each state was represented in song.[62]

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[60] Wayne Erbson, "The Man who Wrote Dixie". February 1980. http://www.nativeground.com/danemmett.asp

[61] E. Lawrence Abel, *Singing the New Nation: How Music Shaped the Confederacy, 1861-1865*. (Stackpole Books 2000) 54 quoted by Nola Reed Knouse. Liner Notes, *A Storm in the Land*, New World Records, 2002, 12.

[62] Knouse, *A Storm in the Land,* 12.

The arrangement begins with the traditional playing of the opening melody of Dixie shared by the E-flat cornets and the B-flat cornets with the rest of the ensemble playing an accompanimental role. This pattern continues until the end of the melody of *Dixie*. At the end of the initial statement of the melody there is a bridge that is designed to bring the two melodies, *Dixie* and *Bonnie Blue Flag* together. This bridge is simply a virtuosic double-tonguing section for the cornet players, that presents a variation on the initial eight bar phrase of *Dixie* as seen below.

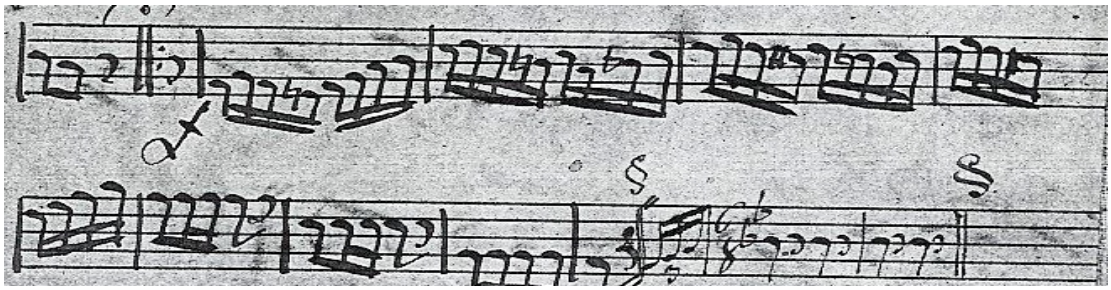

Figure 6.2: Passage from *Dixie* (courtesy of Moravian Music Foundation).

Upon initial examination the passage above does not seem to be a daunting task, but when performed at tempo, double tonguing becomes a necessity. This would not have been a skill that the average musician would have had the ability to perform with great ease. With this passage written in all of the cornet parts, there must have been considerable skill throughout the cornets. Of course the passage may have been slurred, but with everything else so clearly notated it is unlikely that they would have left out the slur. Also, the tempo may have been slower, but a slower tempo would not have been appropriate during a march. At a typical march tempo of 120 beats per minute, this would have been a double-tonguing section throughout the cornets. This passage is a

difficult one for anyone who is not a trained and accomplished musician and this is just one representation of the many passages that speak clearly of the high level of skill that the musicians of the 26th possessed.

After this variation of the melody there is a short little run, four notes, which effectively serve as a modulation from the original E-flat major, to A-flat major, and it is at this time that the meter also changes from simple to compound meter. With these changes all occurring over the span of three measures the piece then launches into *Bonnie Blue Flag* and continues on until a da capo return to the *Dixie* melody. Throughout this piece the lower bass voices primarily play a walking bass line with the melody being played over top in the higher voices. Once the piece moves into *Bonnie Blue Flag* the melody becomes much more simplified and is performed in unison rhythm throughout the band much of the time. Neither of the pieces that make up this arrangement is very long , so this piece of music is a clear result of the musicians skill in arranging, and their desire to put a fresh look and sound on two very popular selections in their books. The thought that went into this piece is a perfect illustration of the dedication of the musicians, not only to their country by coming up with a creative new arrangement, but also to their art through turning two simple melodies into one conjoined composition that is technically demanding and served as a constant challenge.

Another example of an original composition by the band is the march entitled *Colonel Vance's March*. This piece was written as a tribute to the regiment's first commanding officer and the future governor of North Carolina, Zebulon Vance, who was very important to the band. *Colonel Vance's March* is not the only tribute piece in the

books, but it stands as a fitting acknowledgment of the man who gave the musicians so many opportunities beyond their set daily schedule. The piece is composed with a clear A section, in two parts, followed by a B section, also in two parts, before a return of the original A section to round out the piece. The melody is placed entirely in the hands of the E-flat cornet player with some support coming from the B-flat cornet. As in other pieces the two sections are in different keys: in this case the A section is in D-flat major with the B section moving to G-flat major. This is the same key relationship that is found throughout the books. Also, as in the previous mentioned piece, the bridge is achieved not through a smooth harmonic modulation, but through a written out fanfare in the E-flat cornet part that serves as the link between the two sections. This piece is not overly difficult by the standards set by some of the other compositions in the band books and was most likely that way by design. Pieces entitled "march" would have been appropriate for performance on an actual march, so it was truly in the best interest of the musicians not to write a piece that was overly difficult, so that it could be performed well under less than ideal concert settings. The other benefit of a piece of this level of difficulty is to serve as a buffer between more difficult pieces on a concert program. With the amount of playing that the men were doing it was only rational for them to have some pieces that were musically sound, well written, but at the same time not overly difficult to perform.

Another type of march can be found in the band's arrangement of the *Dead March*. Every band in the Confederacy had a version of a "dead march". When time permitted it and the circumstances warranted it, the fallen soldiers from a battle would be

moved to their final resting place by way of a funeral parade. This piece is not the standard Confederate Dead March, it is a special piece that was borrowed from another band. The 26th must have heard it at another funeral function or at another somber gathering because the version is taken from the 33rd regimental band from Bethania, which was only a few miles away from Salem.[63] The musicians in the 33rd band were also Moravians and must have been very willing to share their music with their fellow Moravians. This is just one more example of the sharing of music and information that the bands were engaging in whenever possible. This arrangement is a very serious and somber composition. It moves from minor sonorities to major ones freely as if to musically illustrate the promise of life after death. The piece is in three sections that are connected by their uniform treatment of major and minor tonal areas, with a final da capo that brings the piece to a close on an f minor cadence. This particular march is also not very difficult and that is most likely by design. Since this march would have to be played under difficult marching conditions and most likely would have to be repeated many, many times depending upon the length of the march, it was definitely in the best interest of the musicians to keep the music at a moderate level of difficulty. There is some interesting extra writing at the end of the first E-flat cornet part. Someone took the time to write out a simple C major scale and to put the fingering below it. This is odd just due to the fact that by this point that scale should have been well known. Most likely this scale was a teaching aid and not for the musician who held the book since it is a basic

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[63] Nola Reed Knouse. Liner Notes, *A Storm in the Land*, New World Records, 2002.

concept that would have already been mastered in order to play the music in the book.

Any type of music was fair game for the musicians, they freely arranged versions of many melodies from various genres. An example of this is the band's arrangement of the Beethoven chorale *Die Ehre Gottes*. The piece is arranged in an A B A' structure with clearly notated dynamic contrasts as well as subtle dynamic changes that are clearly marked by crescendi. The key of the piece remains in E-flat major with frequent half cadences on the dominant. As with most effective chorale settings the presence of fermatas show even more opportunities for expression within the music. While rhythmically not very complex the very nature of slow, sustained chorale playing lends itself to being difficult. It is likely that the musicians would have observed all of their own musical indications on their parts to make this an effective setting of a moving chorale.

During this time opera music was considered to be very refined. The average soldier was very happy to listen to European music and felt that they were fortunate to experience this type of music. An example of the musicians attempt to give their audiences this high-brow music, such as opera, is found in a piece entitled *Trovatore Quickstep* based upon Verdi's *Il Trovatore*. The piece begins, just as the opera score does, with a loud unison opening line, which is present in all instruments, that is full of triplets that really set the stage for an exciting piece to follow. The opening melody is taken directly from Leonora's solo aria, "Di tale amor, che dirsi" with the melody immediately present in the E-flat cornet parts and remaining there for the entire piece with the other instruments mainly serving a subsidiary role. This initial melodic section

is one of the more difficult passages in terms of range, in all of the books. The popular "anvil" chorus from the opera marks the next section and is written in a loud and bombastic setting with complimenting off beats to signify the anvil strikes. Following the Anvil Chorus, the melody goes back to Leonora's solo in the first section for a short time and then onto Manrico's section of the duet "Mal reggendo all' aspro assalto" to finish out the piece. The form of the piece is through composed with each section changing keys with little transitional material between each new theme. The compositional complexity of this piece illustrates the bandsmen's awareness of current music. With the first performance of *Il Trovatore* in Europe being in 1853 and the first performance in America being in 1855, the musicians were quick to write for the music of the day. This piece was surely popular for the audience, but it is very lengthy and very difficult for some of the musicians.

The setting of Schubert's *Serenade* in the band's musical collections is a prime example of a piece of serious romantic art music that was adapted for brass band with very effective results. This piece is also an example of the open trade between bands. Charles Seigel, a bass player in the 14th South Carolina Regimental Band, who happened upon the 26th band after the Battle of Gettysburg when the bands were camping out at Bunker Hill in West Virginia, notated this arrangement. The musicians in the 26th were very taken with Seigel's skills and were eager to receive music and instrumentation from him. The musicians wasted no time at all copying this piece into their books and the addition of Seigel's piece adds a new level of composition to the library of the band. This piece is in two sections and moves harmonically from E-flat minor to E-flat Major

in a smooth and subtle fashion. The piece differs from a lot of other arrangements in the 26th's books in that it begins with a solo line for the second B-flat cornet instead of the higher cornets. The E-flat cornet eventually comes in with the melody, but the presence of the B-flat cornets is still there when the two instruments trade musical phrases back and forth. The E-flat alto horns help to propel the piece forward, while the lower voices are providing a clear feeling of three beats to the measure while the upper voices carry the melody. The delineation of the three voice parts in this piece is unique and the resulting music is a carefully arranged piece that is very musically effective. Seigel's notation even went so far as to indicate variants of articulation such as staccato and legato, as well as careful attention to dynamics. This piece differs from other pieces in the musicians' library in that there is more equality given to all of the instruments; it is not entirely treble voice dominated as many others are. The Bandsmen of the 26th no doubt realized Seigel's the talent when they were privileged to copy some of his music.

Another work in the books is the *Grand Confederate Quickstep*. This piece is very intriguing for both performers and historians alike due to the fact that there are two versions of this piece by this title in the 26th books. The piece is written in a style that would have made it appropriate for either concert or march settings. There are many pieces throughout the books that are versatile, by design, like this piece. The first version is found in the third book and is the second piece in that particular book, given the catalog of 3.2. It is interesting that the same title appears two times in the books especially when the two pieces are very similar. The second version is found in the fourth book and is the 21st entry in the book, with the catalog number being 4.21. Another

interesting factor is that there is no composer given for either of the pieces. With all of the measures taken by the musicians to conserve both their ink and paper, as both were becoming very expensive as the war went on, it is peculiar that they would have taken the time to hand copy two versions. The first version, version 3.2, has the following instrumentation:

E-flat cornet
B-flat Cornet 1
B-flat Cornet 2
E-flat Alto 1 (solo)
E-flat Alto 2
B-flat Tenor 2
E-flat Bass

The first B-flat tenor part is missing from the third book. The piece begins in concert D-flat and then moves up to concert G-flat at the start of the trio section. The piece is written in typical march form with two stanzas and a trio; it is characterized by a snappy and technically challenging opening section throughout all of the parts. The difficulty of this opening section comes from the fact that all of the parts are in unison, so any discrepancy in pitch would be immediately obvious. The solo part, seen below, for the E-flat alto player is atypical and helps to separate this piece from most.

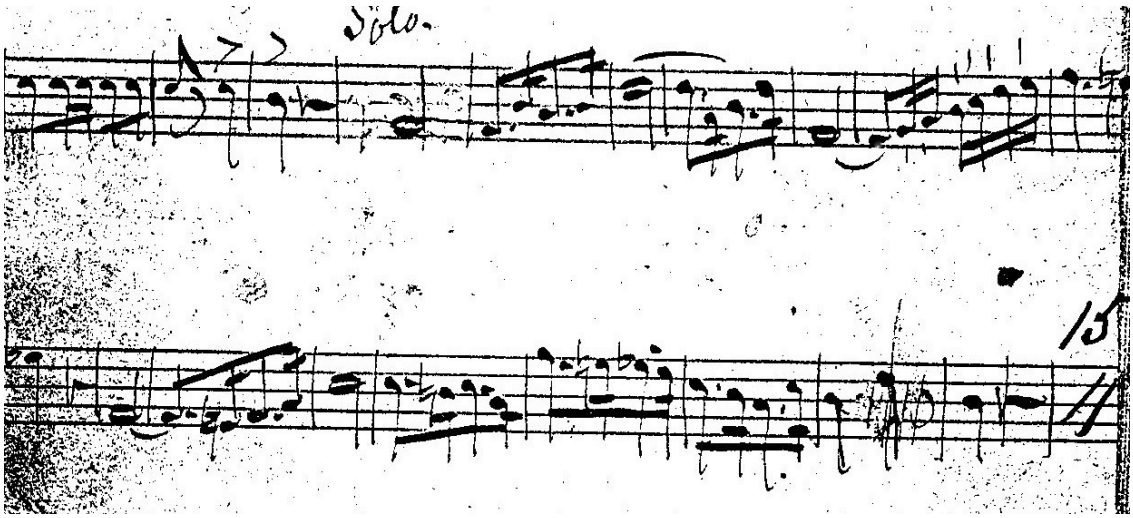

Figure 6.3: Solo line for E-flat alto from *Grand Confederate Quickstep* (courtesy of Moravian Music Foundation).

The typical part for the E-flat alto player consisted of offbeat rhythms and other mundane passages so this was a real treat for the E-flat alto player. Figure 6.4 is an example of a typical passage for the E-flat alto:

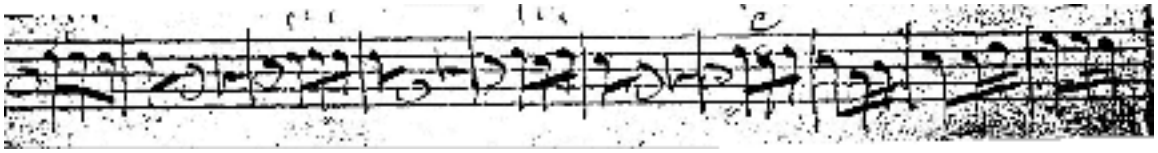

Figure 6.4: Normal E-flat alto part (courtesy of Moravian Music Foundation).

Within the cornet parts there are cues written in to aid the musicians when they are counting their rests and also to help when complete instrumentation is not available. In this piece a lot of the musicians wrote out additional pages of the music in the margins and in between already existing lines of music, so the music can be fairly difficult to decipher. The men who copied this music were writing for the moment and not for posterity.

The first E-flat cornet part in this version only ascends to their written top line F. This may not seem like a defining characteristic for the piece, but with the amount of playing that the musicians were sometimes subjected to, such as playing during a long march, or playing numerous concerts in one day, this fairly contained range would have been a welcome change from some of the other more difficult pieces in their repertoire. Also, this piece is fairly long and the manageable range may have been a necessary concession. In this version of the piece, cataloged as 3.2, there are not very many articulations written in. The piece has been reconstructed from the original parts and unfortunately has some mistakes. Some of the simplest mistakes stem from an additional measure that was written into some of the parts. For example during the E-flat alto horn solo the second e-flat also plays a very repetitive figure over and over and in writing the music the author may have inadvertently written an extra measure of music that resulted in displacing the harmony by a measure. This first occurs in measure 46 and continues until measure 108 when the part gets back on track. It is interesting that the presence of this part being offset from the rest of the ensemble by a measure does not completely destroy the composition. Due to the very simple harmonies of the piece it is only noticeable to the ear a few times, most noticeably in the cadential figures. There are times when this displaced line seems to add to the music, such as creating short one measure call and response figures that should not be present, but at other times something is noticeably wrong. This same addition of measures occurs again in the E-flat bass part starting in measure 125. Here, just as before, a monotonous line results in the addition of two measures. Just as before, the error is not glaring until the end of the piece when the

rest of the ensemble is playing tonic and dominant harmonies and the bass is two measures behind. The ultimate result is a bass part, that does not support the harmony of the rest of the band, and that is one measure longer than all of the other parts. It is interesting that none of the melody instruments are notated incorrectly, other than having some incorrect notes: the interior voices contain the most errors. There are also wrong notes in some of the parts that reoccur in the other version as well. The second version of the *Grand Confederate Quickstep*, version 4.21, is scored for more instruments, and is almost identical except for the fact that it is exactly one step higher. The instrumentation for the version in the fourth set of books is:

E-flat cornet 1
E-flat cornet 2
B-flat cornet 1
B-flat cornet 2
E-flat alto 2
B-flat tenor 1
B-flat tenor 2
B-flat baritone
E-flat bass
Drum

The drum part is very simple, as can be seen in figure 6.5.

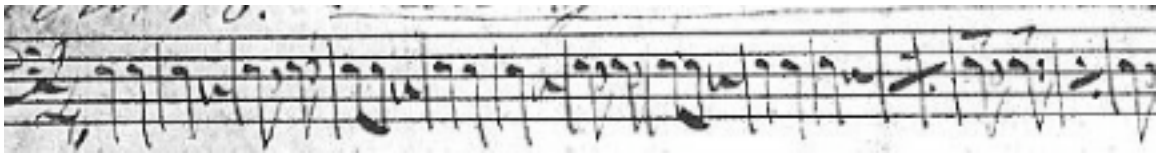

Figure 6.5: Drum Part from *Grand Confederate Quickstep* version 4.21 (courtesy of Moravian Music Foundation).

The presence of two E-flat cornet parts in the 4.21 version gives both performers a chance to rest and breathe that the 3.2 version does not allow. So, there are fatigue relief

elements written into this version, but it is also one whole step higher which could effectively negate any of the rests. The one step increment does not seem like a substantial change on first inspection, but as a performer, knowing that you have to play a number of written high G's instead of high F's has a tendency to create both mental and physical fatigue. This version is, unfortunately, missing the first E-flat alto part. This part has been reconstructed from the 3.2 version in order to present a performable version of this piece. There is also a baritone part in the 4.21 version that does not appear in the 3.2 version. The addition of the baritone part was simply a copy of the E-flat cornet part with some imitation later in the piece. Throughout the piece the melody is transferred from the missing E-flat alto solo, then to the E-flat cornet, then to the B-flat tenor horn. It was during this time that the band was enjoying its largest numbers, and so the fourth set of books is scored for many more instruments. It is very likely that the high brass enjoyed having another musician on their part to help with the work. This version has been reconstructed and edited for performance as Appendix 1. The different articulations that are notated throughout the piece were not all on each part, but have been realized in order to create a performance score. The basis of the realized articulations is from the first E-flat cornet part which had the most thorough articulations written in. There were also wrong notes in the originals that have been corrected in the edition. Some of the notes that are incorrect are the same as the 3.2 version. One possible explanation for the presence of incorrect notes it that the musicians may written for the tendencies of their instruments and it may be the case that the music was written so that instruments with certain peculiarities could play well together. Meaning, if one a particular f on a cornet

was extremely sharp and out of tune, the musician may have written an f-sharp and then purposely played that note flat in order to compensate. I think that this is a possible explanation, but the errors are not consistent and since not every piece in the band's library are full of these mistakes I think that this is not the case, just a case of sloppy handwriting and lack of attention to detail.

7. RESPECT FOR THE BAND

These Civil War bands had a great effect upon all of their listeners, not just the men in the brigade or regiment. When a town was conquered by a force, be it Union or Confederate, the army would march through the streets of the city or town and the bands would be playing full out. This spectacle was loved by some and hated by others. General Sherman wrote this of Atlanta in the fall of 1864.

> Some band by accident struck up the anthem of 'John Brown's Soul Goes Marching On;' the men caught up the strain, and never before or since have I heard the chorus of 'Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!' done with more spirit or in better harmony of time and place… The next day we passed through the handsome town of Covington, the soldiers closing up their ranks, the color-bearers unfurling their flags, and the band striking up patriotic airs. The white people came out of their houses to behold the sight, spite of their deep hatred of the invaders, and the Negroes were simply frantic with joy. [64]

Another account of a Zouare regiment is from the Ninth Regimental Band in Fredericksburg, Virginia.

> When the Zouaves were detailed they always paraded in full dress uniforms, headed by the band with its new instruments, and led by Drum Major Wiley, who was most gorgeously arrayed; and their progression through the city which was as though marching on review, attracted universal attention. There is little doubt that the appearance of a genuine Yankee Regiment, in full

[64] Henry Steele Commanger, *The Blue and The Gray* (from Sherman's *Memoirs*), 948; quoted by Olson, *Music and Musket,* 160.

> dress, with colors flying, and band playing, had its effect upon the inhabitants of Fredericksburg. [65]

There were also bands that specialized in presenting hospital concerts. Some of the larger hospitals had their own bands in house to attend to raising the spirits of their patients. There were also situations in which patients played in the ensembles during their time of recovery. Playing for these sick and wounded soldiers must have been a rewarding experience for the musicians and helped to let them know that their music could make a difference.[66]

There were also some displays of valor and respect between the two opposing forces through their music. When a regiment was captured it was customary for their instruments to betaken away. In 1864 this was not the case after the battle of Sailors Creek. This account tells of the devastating qualities of the war as well as the power of the music during the war.

> The scene was an impressive one. They were prisoners of war, bleeding from wounds, faint and famished, ragged and nearly barefoot and their last hope gone, but as the familiar strains of the music floated back over the line their faces brightened, their steps quickened and they marched as they had marched many a time behind their beloved leader, General Lee. Our men had too much respect for these brave men to jeer at them. The brave invariably respected the brave, and as the soldiers of the "Lost Cause" passed the veterans of the second corps all were silent and respectful, except for an occasional burst of applause which manifested itself by the clapping of hands.[67]

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[65] Matthew Graham, *The Ninth Regiment New York Volunteers,* 244; quoted by Olson, *Music and Musket,* 162.

[66] Hazen, *The Music Men,* 51.

[67] Delavan Millar, *Drum Taps in Dixie* (Watertown, N.Y.: Erickson, 1963) 175; quoted by Olson, *Music and Musket*, 185.

The average Civil War soldier took a great deal of pride in their band and really enjoyed the music. There were traditional evening concerts for the soldiers and other music activities for the officers. An infantryman from the 24th Massachusetts regiment wrote in 1862,

> I don't know what we should have done without our band. It is acknowledged by everyone to be the best in the division. Every night about sun down Gilmore gives us a splendid concert, playing selections from the operas and some very pretty marches, quicksteps, waltzes and the like…Thus you wee we get a great deal of *new* music, not withstanding we are off here in the woods.[68]

This letter helps to show the variety of music that was performed throughout the war and shows the soldiers' appreciation of the efforts by the bandsmen to perform new music. The idea of performing new music was probably just as welcome for the musicians since they most likely did not want to perform the same music over and over. The idea of writing and performing new music further illustrates the pride that the musicians had in their craft and shows their desire for personal growth with the new compositions.

Often times before and after the battles the two armies were encamped in close proximity to each other. Lieutenant Lot D. Young of Kentucky wrote of a moving experience involving the bands when he wrote,

> We could see extending for miles Sherman's grand encampment of infantry and artillery…which presented the greatest panorama I ever beheld. Softly and sweetly the music from their bands as they played the national airs were wafted up and over the summit

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[68]Bell Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank*, 158; as quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 57.

> of the mountain. Somehow, some way, in some inexplicable and unseen manner, 'Hail Columbia,' 'America,' and 'The Star Spangled Banner' sounded sweeter than I had ever before heard them and filled my soul with feelings that I could not describe or forget. It haunted me for days, but never shook my loyalty to the Stars and Bars… [69]

Another account of a beloved band concerns the Stonewall Brigade Band. This band, originally known as the Mountain Saxhorn Band, was formed in Staunton, Virginia in 1855. It served with General Stonewall Jackson's brigade and was genuinely loved by the entire outfit. The band served for the duration of the war and the members of the band served in the traditional fashion, in both the band and the hospital. Two members were lost during the war. During the surrendering proceedings at Appomattox, General Grant allowed the musicians to take their instruments home with them and they proudly displayed them in their band hall. When General Grant passed away the band was positioned at a post of honor at his funeral. [70]

Not all of the fighting men of the Civil War felt the same way about the bands. A member of the 6th Wisconsin Infantry, also known as the Iron Brigade, had this to say about their band:

> It was enough to try the patience of a martyr, the performance of that contemptible brass band of ours. They played such slow time music that we passed the reviewing officer at about forty-seven paces a minute. We had to hold one leg in the air and balance on the other while we waited for the music…They are so

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[69] L.D. Young, *Reminiscences of a Soldier of the Orphan Brigade,* 76; as quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 57.

[70] Olson, *Music and Muskets*, 173.

> bad that if a man in the regiment is caught in a rascally trick, the whole regiment yells 'put him in the brass band'. [71]

This is not the only account of poor musicians in the military. On August 2, 1864 five men were discharged from their bands for physical disability and ignorance of music. [72] When the Federal government wanted to cut the music programs of the regiments and then the brigades the fighting men were very opposed to this. Chaplain Alonzo Quint of the 2nd Massachusetts Regiment wrote in protest that,

> Those who advocate this [the discharging of the bands] cannot have an idea of their value among soldiers. I do not know anything particular of the science or practice of music…but I see the effects of a good band, like ours, continually. It scatters the dismal part of the camp life; gives new spirit to the men jaded by or on a march; wakes up their enthusiasm. Could you see our men, when of an evening, our band comes our and plays its sweet stirring music, you would say, if retrenchment must come, let it be somewhere else…let the men have their music. [73]

Quotes such as these illustrate the importance of the band to the common soldier and officers. The musicians were very fond of their troops and the troops shared the same admiration of the bands.

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[71] Francis Lord and Arthur Wise. *Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War* (New York: Yoseloff 1966), 46.

[72] Lord, *Bands and Drummer Boys of the Civil War,* 51.

[73] Alonzo Quint, *The Potomac and the Rapidan, 1861-3,* 96; quoted by Garofalo, *A Pictorial History of Civil War Era Musical Instruments & Military Bands,* 57.

8. BRASS BANDS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

At the end of the Civil War the military musicians were out of steady work, but were generally much more proficient on their instruments due to their practicing and musical experiences. As these men and boys returned home many of the musicians kept the bands together. One factor that helped to keep the bands together was that many of the bands had been in existence before the war and not made up of various players from around the country. This pre-war history helped to continue the brass band movement in the United States. Some of these bands became professional bands while others remained strictly amateur. For example, the Stonewall Band from Staunton, Virginia, incorporated and still has their band hall and original instruments to this day. The bandsmen from the 26th continued to perform throughout Salem and the current Salem Band can trace their origins back to the 26th North Carolina Regimental band known simply as the "Pride of Tarheelia".

The concept of organizing a town band in America was emerging as a way to create more prominent musical organizations after the war and the men took great pride in their instruments, uniforms, and band halls. These bands were able to generate and foster great civic pride and towns and cities were very proud of their bands and fiercely loyal to their hometown band. The size of the town or the location did not matter, a band was most always formed. There was a sense of social standing in having a band; G.F. Patton in his book *A Practical Guide to the Arrangement of Band Music,* offered these words about band development:

> in this age the horn blowing organizations are recognized as essential elements in the great march of popular enlightenment, and a town that can not sound its own trumpet, but must send off and hire assistance from its neighbours on all public occasions, can not lay claim to having reached a very high standard of advancement. [74]

Some bands would draw up contracts with the local town government to spell out the duties of the organization. With the number of bands in the United States several of bands were searching for something that would separate them from the next. The idea of the bandwagon emerged during this period. Many of these wagons were converted military wagons that served a more peaceful occupation after the war. These bandwagons were not just simple drab wagons; they were brightly painted with usually very high springs to accommodate the weight of the members.

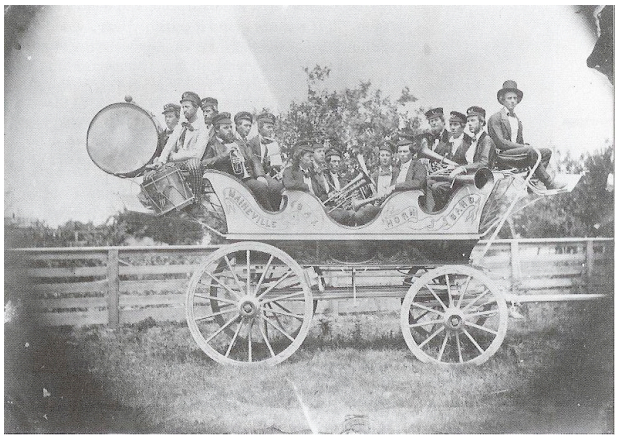

Figure 8.1: Maineville Saxhorn Band (courtesy of the Cincinnati Historical Society).

These wagons were very popular with the people of the town and created a colorful and joyous image, but they were not very good to the musicians who were attempting to perform while riding on bumpy, uneven streets. Still, the wagons were a major

[74] Hazen, *The Music Men,* 44.

improvement over other ways of moving and playing, mainly marching or playing on horseback. Another much smoother mode of band transportation was the band boat; this vehicle was fairly popular, but limited strictly to towns with accessible waterways.

Following the Civil War there was an emergence of musicians and musical groups that were looking for a unique identity and all sorts of interesting arrangements of people and instruments were used. Some bands used valved trombones while others had expanded percussion sections. One of these innovations was a music light for the bandsmen since it was not uncommon for the bands to be called upon for music at all hours of the day. This was fine as long as the musicians were indoors with proper candles and oil lamps, but when they were forced to perform outside it became difficult. As in the Civil War, candleholders were used, but often times these did not emit enough light for a successful performance. The musicians developed a device called the band lamp. This lamp was a small vessel that was filled with either oil or kerosene; after it was attached to the musician's hat in place of a plume or the customary pom pom, it would be lit, and could provide light for about four hours.[75] These lamps helped to provide the town residents with music in the evening although it must have created some apprehension for the musicians who had to keep their heads fairly still with a lit object attached to their heads.

It was fairly common for these bands to become family affairs with one or two families dominating the membership of the band. The influence of family led to another interesting development in the brass band world. With so many musicians looking for a

way to market themselves and capture the attention of the public the family band began to emerge. The family band was made up of every member of the immediately, and sometimes extended, family performing on a variety of musical instruments.

Figure 8.2: Noss family publicity card (courtesy of the Smithsonian Institute).

These groups often publicized themselves with photographs and posters to advertise their concerts and their availability for private engagements.[76] The general rule with the family bands was that the younger the children the better. The younger children were the main draw and as they got older it was not unusual for it to also spell the end of the ensemble.

Figure 8.3: Strohl family band photograph (courtesy of the Jon Korzun Collection).

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[75] Hazen, *The Music Men*, 84.

[76] Hazen, *The Music Men, 33*.

Another interesting type of group that emerged was the all female brass band. Brass bands during up to this point were made of all men and only occasionally included women. With the new all female bands there was a new twist on the regular brass band. These bands all usually had male directors and even though the popularity of these ensembles was wide spread, it was in the Midwest that the all female brass band was most popular.[77] It is interesting to see that there were opportunities for women in the brass band world during this time in American history.

Children were also beginning to be formed into bands specifically for them. Bands made up of orphans were used mainly as fund raising groups for the orphanages. Some of these bands were also made up entirely of African American boys. There were also bands present for the children on Indian reservations. These children's ensembles did not last long with the emergence of instrumental educational programs in the public schools, as many of these ensembles were absorbed into the public school system. Just as in the family musical groups, the younger the children the more popular the group was with the public. In turn, the more popular the group was, the more money it was able to raise for either itself or its parent organization.

[77] Hazen, *The Music Men*, 35-57.

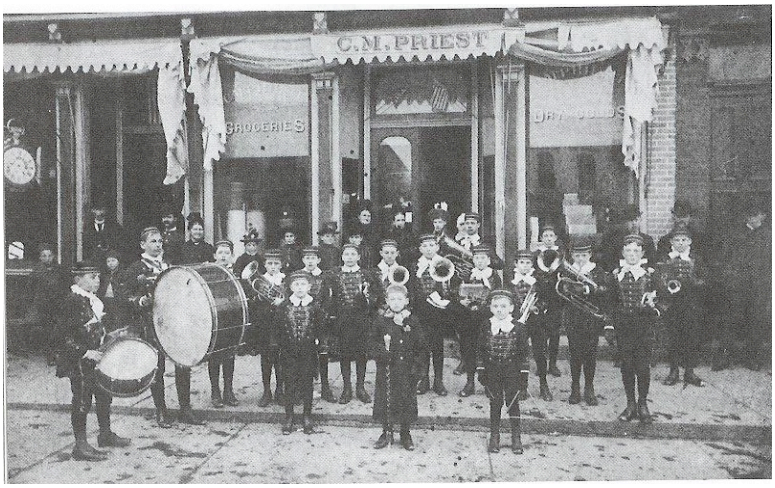

Figure 8.4: Juvenile band (courtesy of the Smithsonian Institute)

Even with all of the different configurations of brass band already present in America there was still room for still more bands with different configurations and musical intents. One of these was the band known as the St. John's, Michigan Brass Band. What made this band unique was that the band rode bicycles during their performances.[78] The bicycles were of the large front wheel and smaller rear wheel variety, so playing was surely a challenge. It is hard to imagine the quality of the music that the bicycle bands were able to produce, but just the presence of this band illustrates, the ingenuity and originality of brass bands during the late 19th century.

[78] Hazen, *The Music Men,* 48.

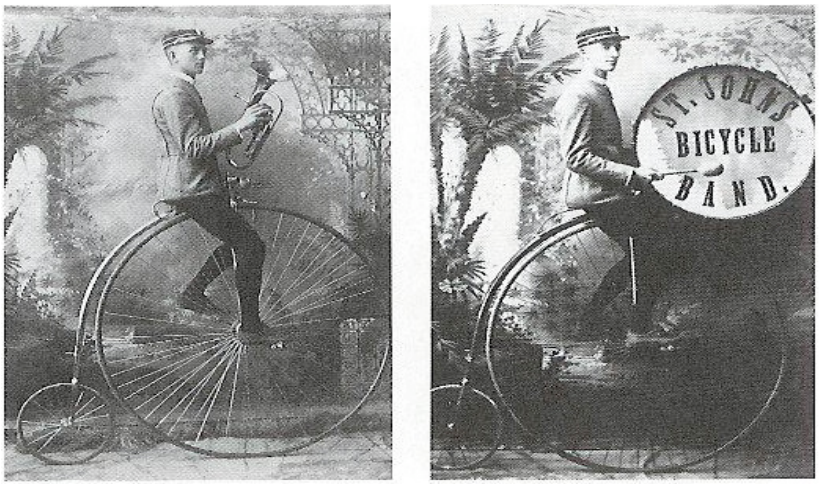

Figure 8.5: Bicycle Band (courtesy State Archives of Michigan)

There were also numerous industrial bands throughout the United States. These bands continued to serve the same function as before the war and were very popular among workers and managers alike. Just like the English factory bands of the time, American industry utilized the popularity of the brass band to their advantage and there were some very successful factory bands that continued well into the 20th century. The famous trumpet player, Raphael Mendez, received his introduction into American bands and the music world while performing in a factory band in Detroit.[79]

With the turn of the century at hand, the public appeal of the brass band was still strong but it would begin to decline as other musical sources were becoming more readily available. The great age of the brass band era was coming to a close and through technological developments and modern manufacturing techniques, brass instruments were relatively easy to play and readily available to the general public. Just as in the

[79] Delon Lyren, "Rafael Mendez: The Life of a Master Trumpeter," *International Trumpet Guild Journal* Vol. 23, No. 3 (1999), 6.

Civil War, brass bands continued to offer music to affect the emotions of the public. For the average person in America the brass band was a welcome opportunity to hear music of all genres and to elevate the level of culture throughout the United States. The musicians were very proud of their bands, regardless if they were amateurs or professionals, and the people of the town were just as proud of their musical organization. The rich history of the brass band in America helped to define the popular culture of the day, and even though their time in the spotlight was not long lived, the public appeal of the brass band is still present. Evidence of this are the bands that are still in existence that can trace their lineage back to the Civil War brass bands and because of this heritage, the rich history of the brass bands still lives on today.

Out of the necessity for music, the Civil War helped to solidify the Brass Band role in American musical history. Prior to the Civil War, music in America was not readily performed in many parts of the country. Many areas had mixed instrumentation as well as string ensembles that only the wealthy were able to enjoy. Since music was considered a powerful form of entertainment, a logical choice to entertain the fighting men was to have a musical group attached to the military. Due to the many recent innovations in brass instrument manufacturing, the brass band was a perfect fit for the military's need for a music ensemble. The instruments were reliable, readily available, and most instruments could be mastered without a lot of training. When one regiment had a band, other regiments wanted one too. As the number of bands in the military increased, the need for a standardization of the bands also increased. The Federal

Government of the time enacted laws to keep more men in the general ranks, while diminishing the ranks of the bands.

Throughout the war the brass bandsman often wore many hats, from musician to hospital worker, with many others roles in between. These varied roles helped the musicians to solidify their importance to the war effort on both sides of the conflict. The musicians themselves took great pride in their craft and, for the most part, worked to please their audiences. The average soldier of the time felt very fortunate to be able to have a constant source of entertainment.

At the end of the Civil War, as the troops broke up to return to their homes, they took with them a deep appreciation of the music that they had experienced. This appreciation helped to spawn the many musical ensembles that formed throughout the nation. No longer was musical entertainment just for the wealthy, now it was easily accessible for the average citizen. The brass band provided a viable musical ensemble for any size town or city. Now, as the turn of the century approached, a new appreciation for music was being cultivated and the framework for popular music in America was being built. This appreciation of music was a direct reflection of the bands of the Civil War. Even though the importance of the brass band was to diminish in the years to come, the influence of the brass band during the American Civil War was long lasting and is still felt today.

Appendix

Grand Confederate Quickstep

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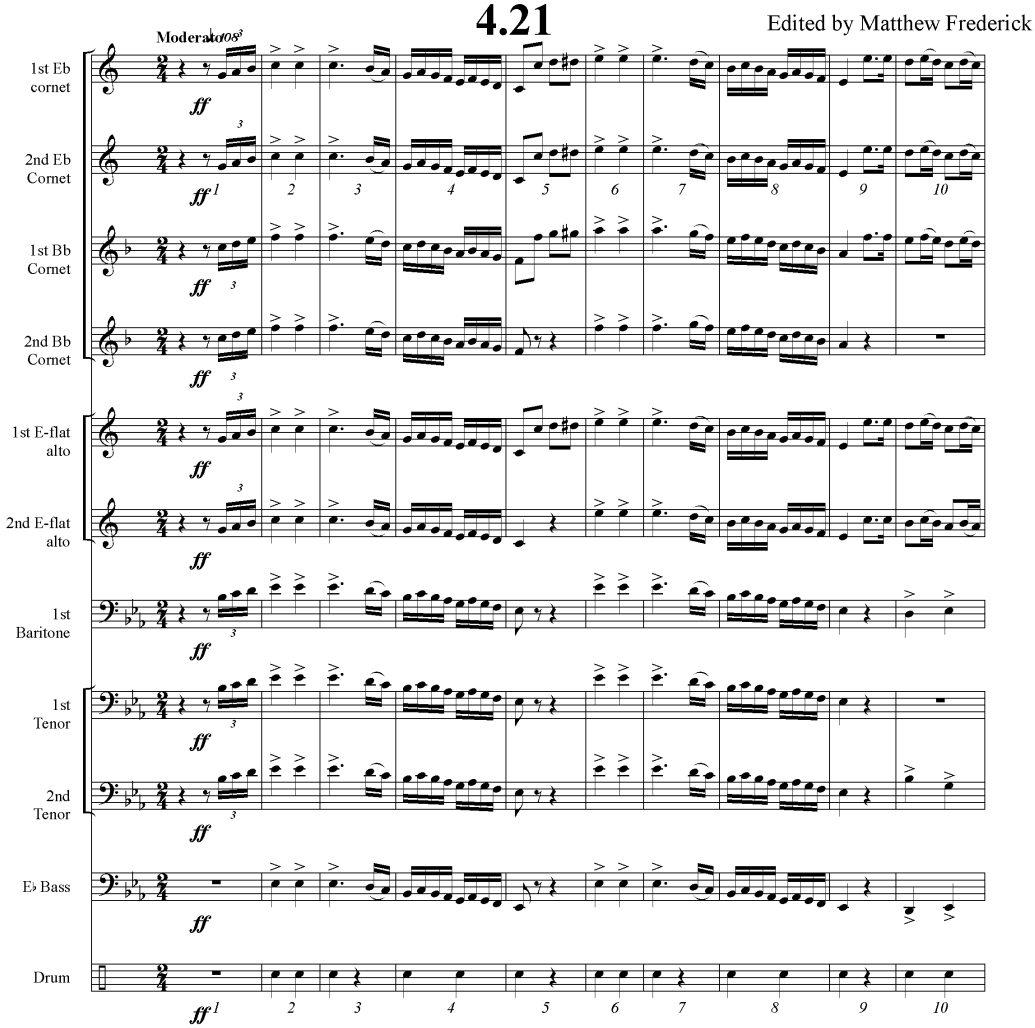
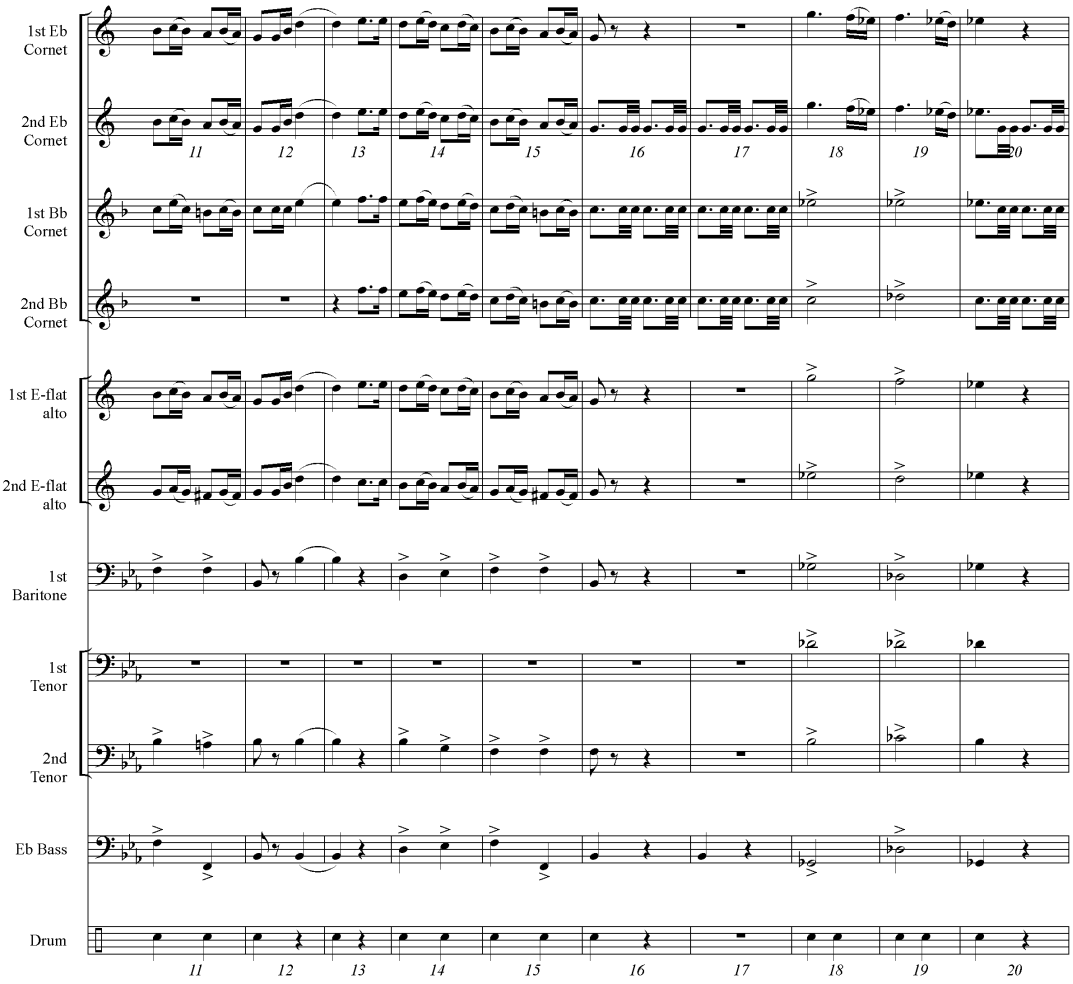
Edited by Matthew Frederick

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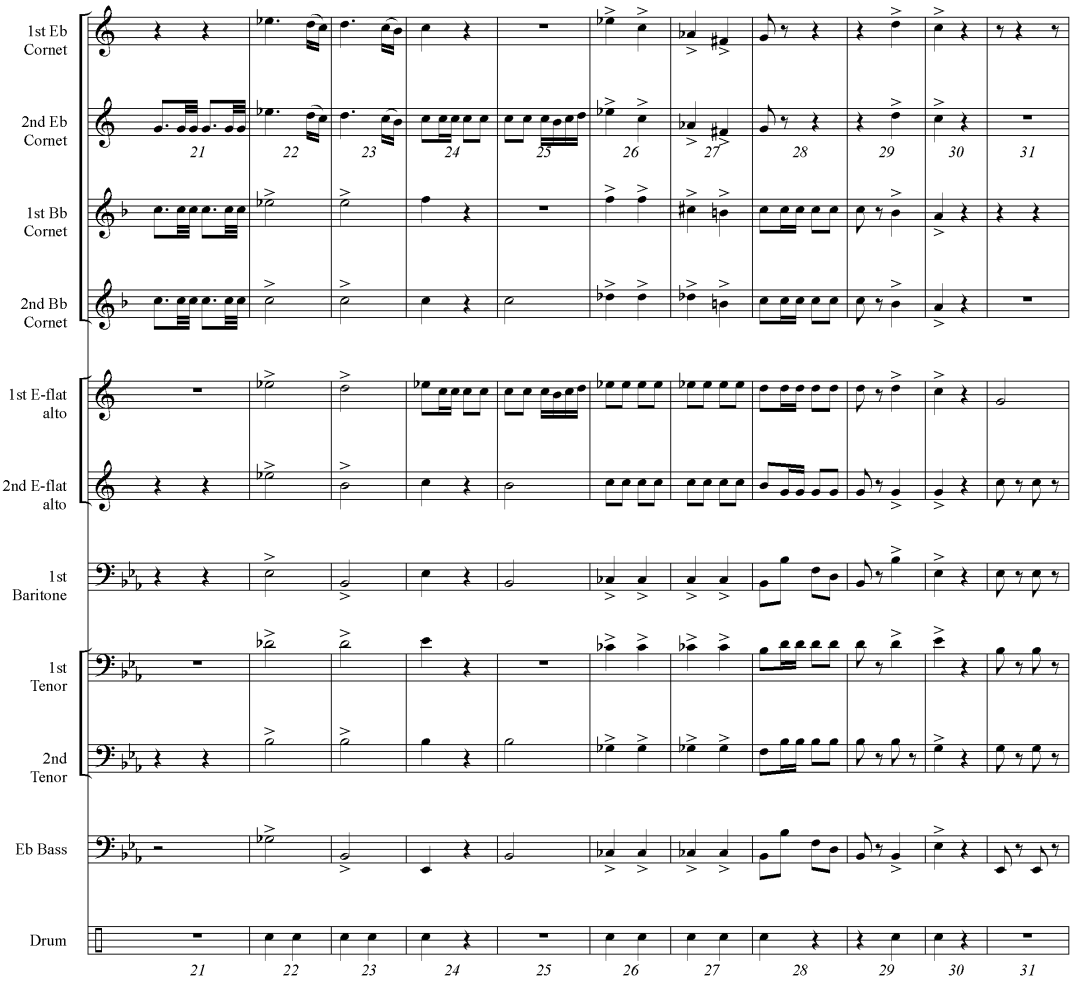
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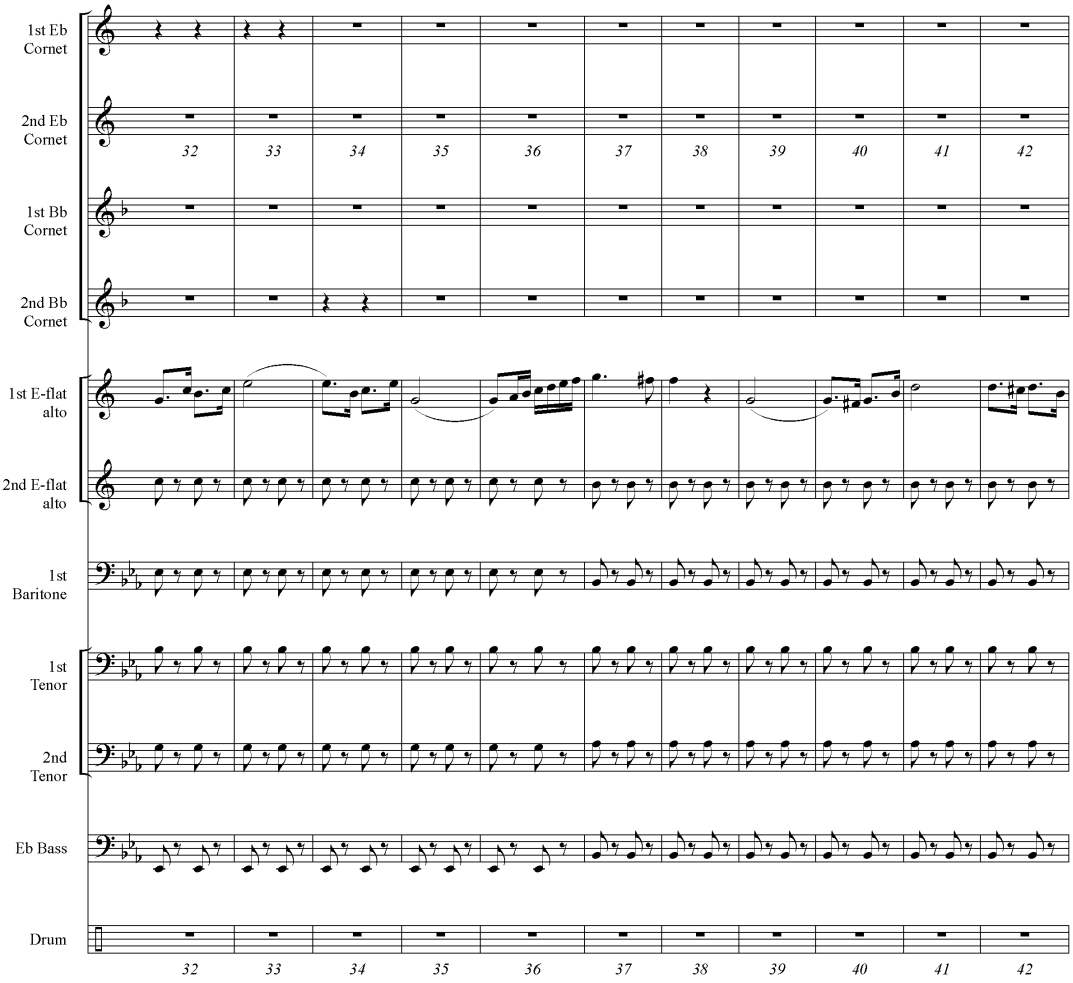
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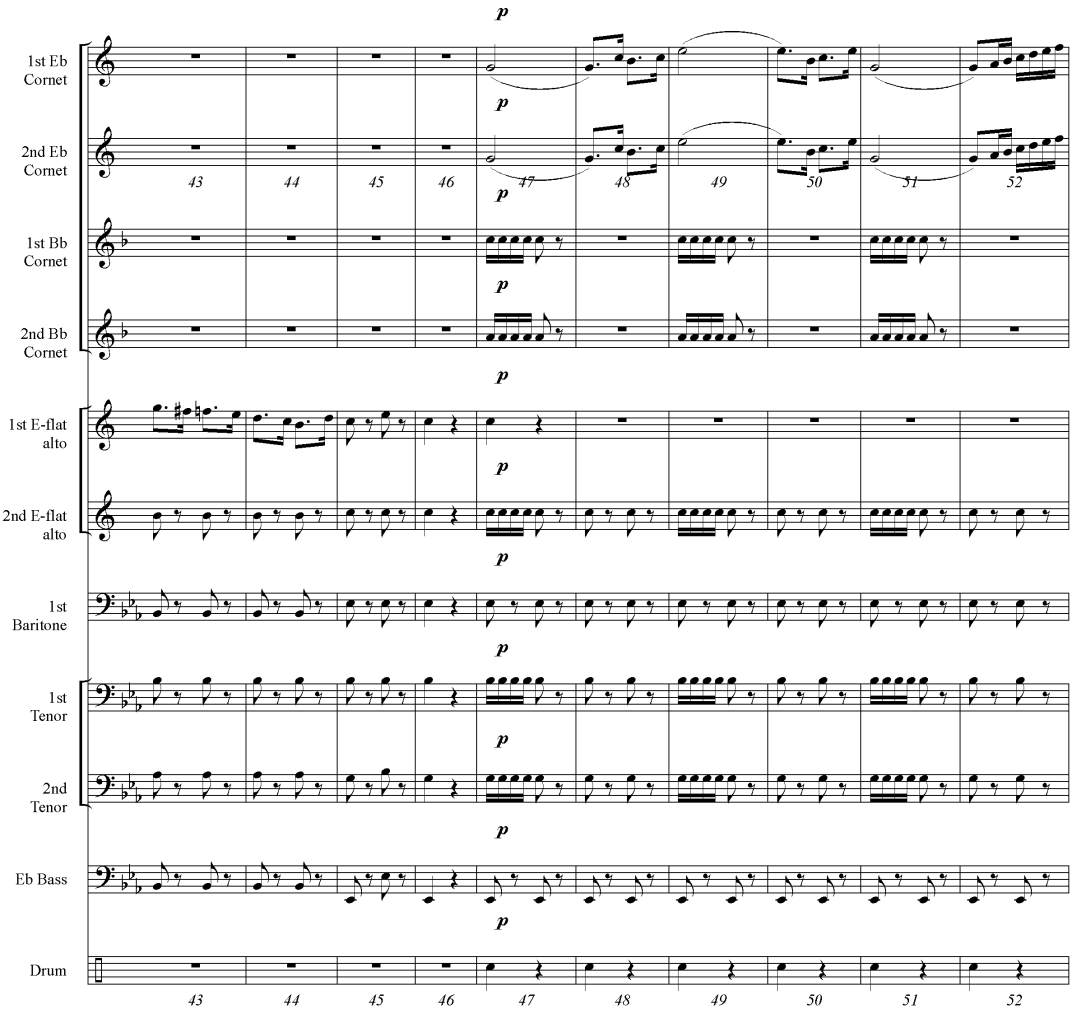
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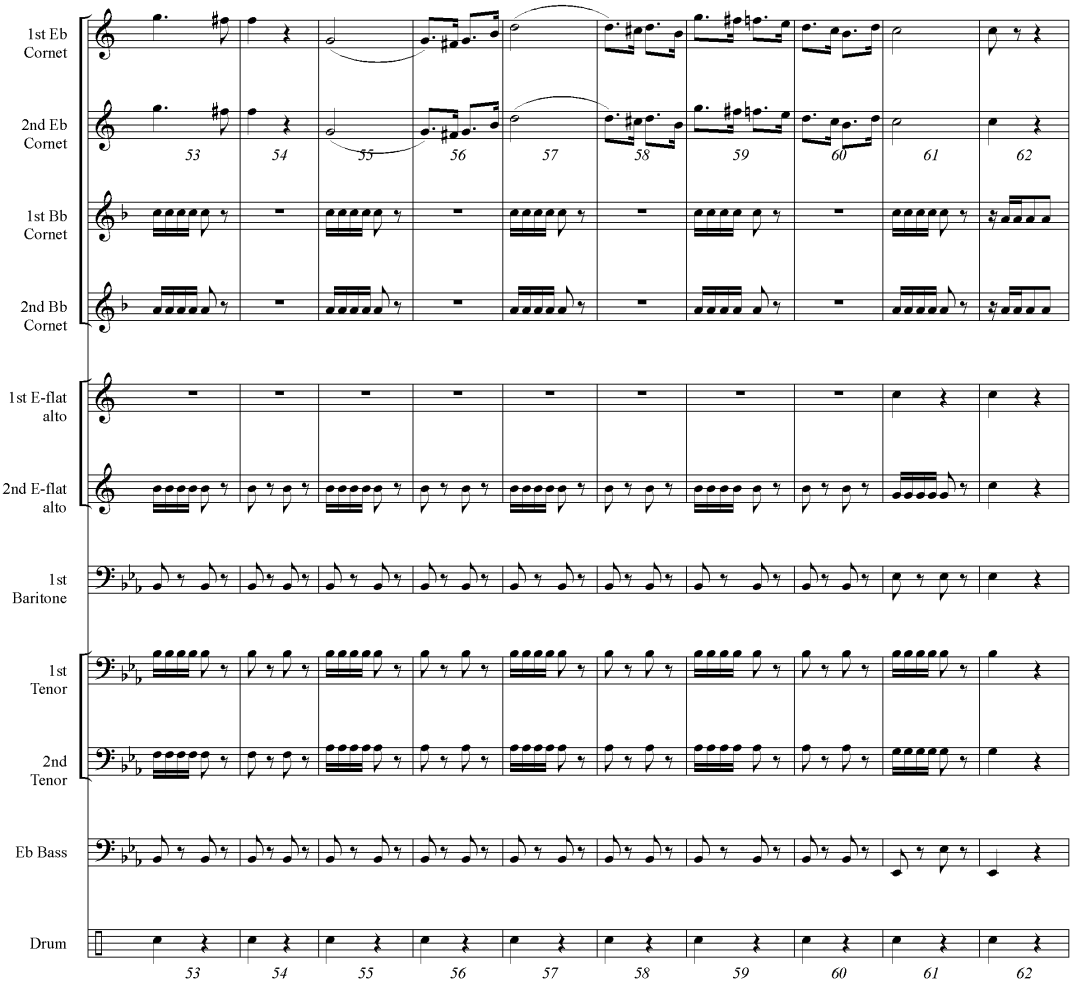
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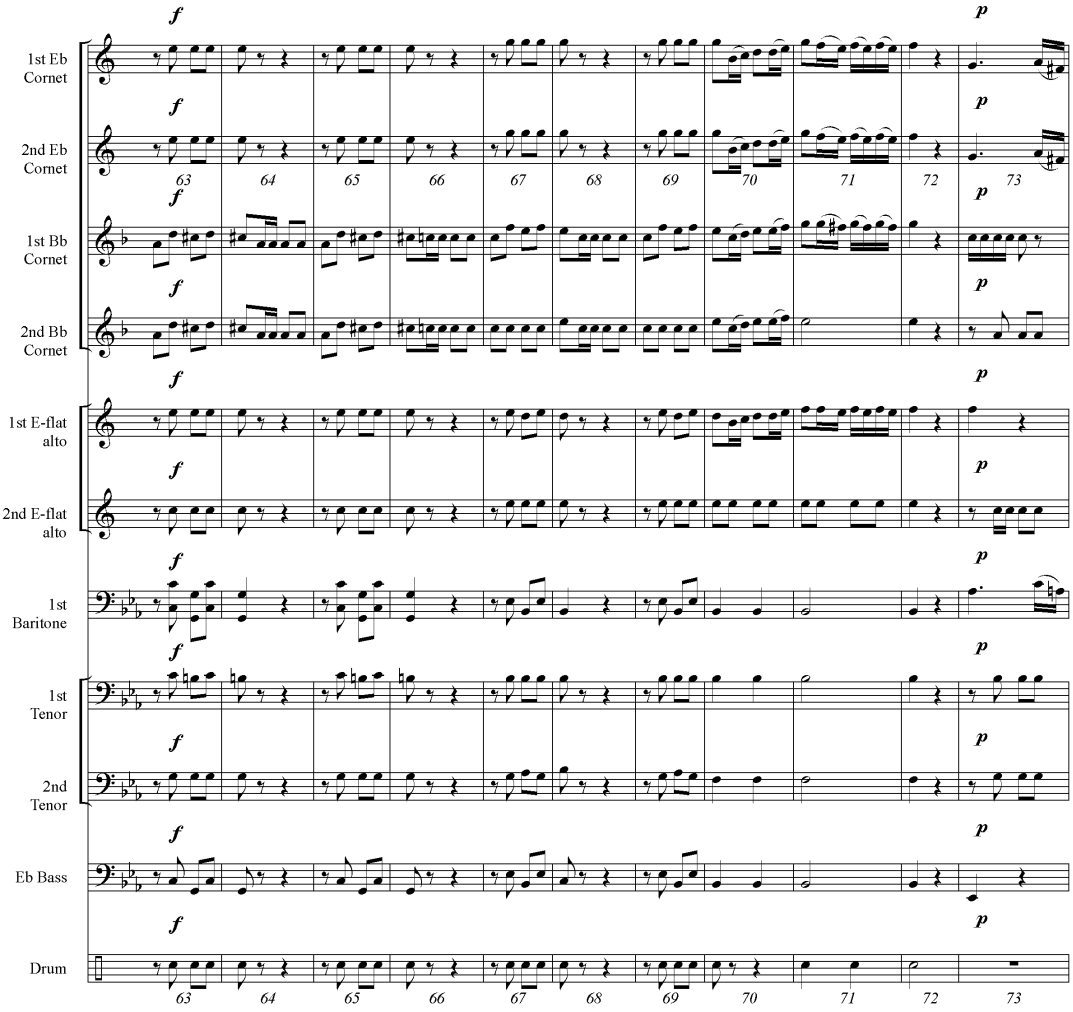
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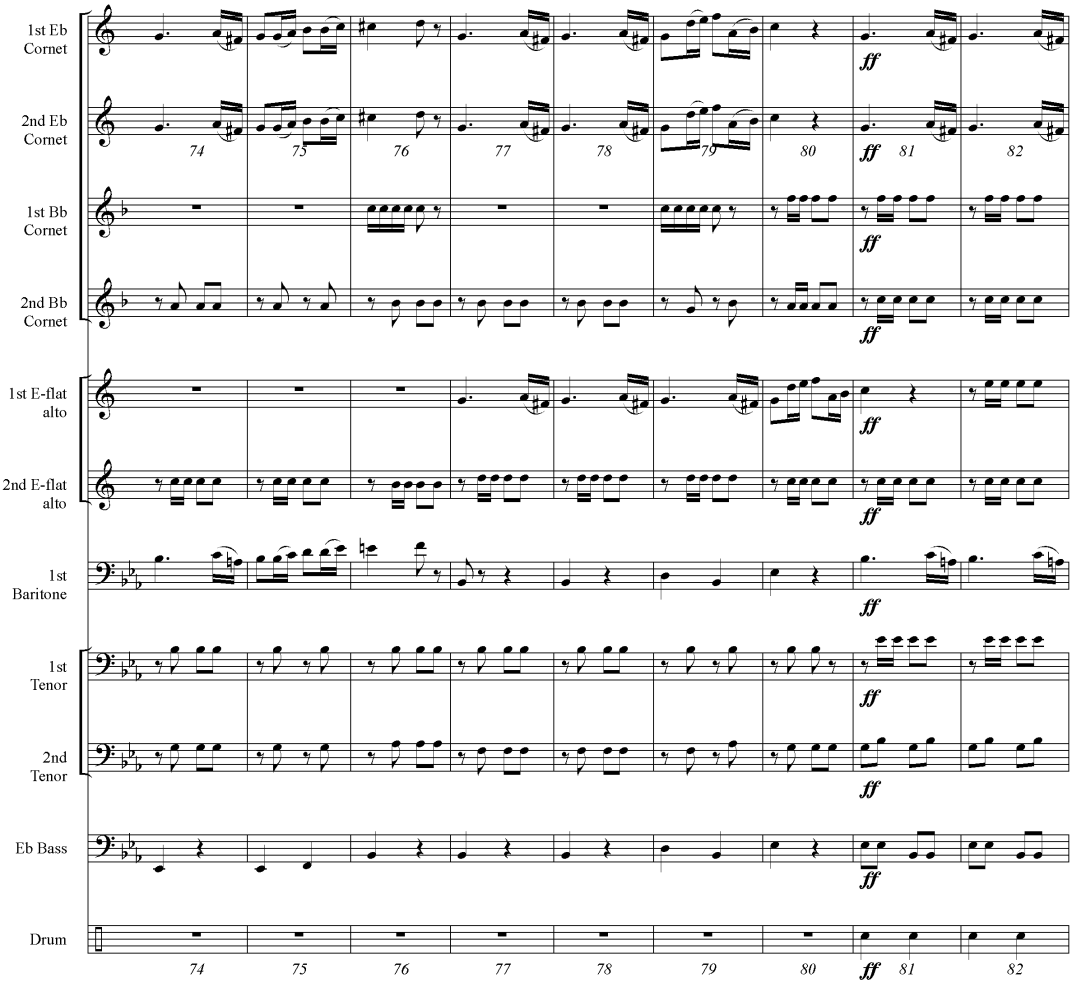
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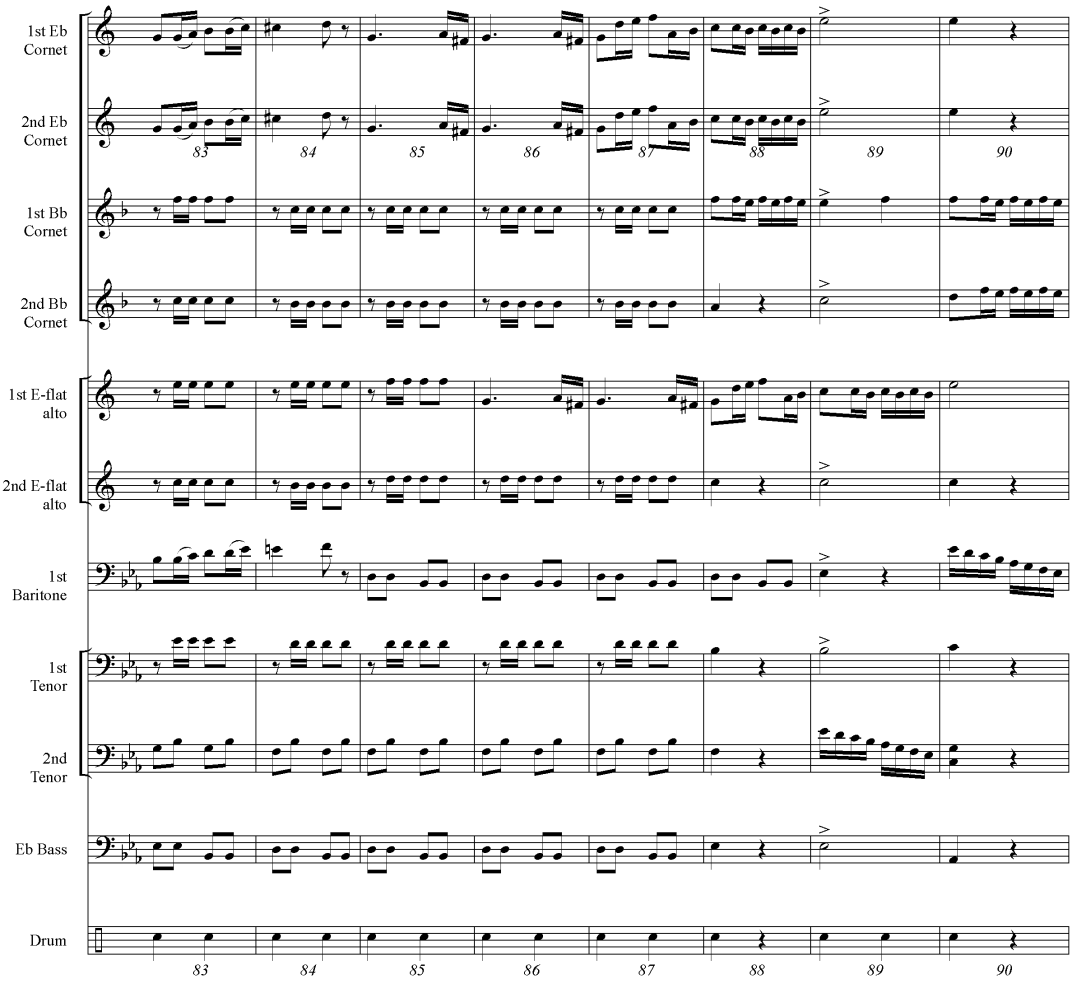
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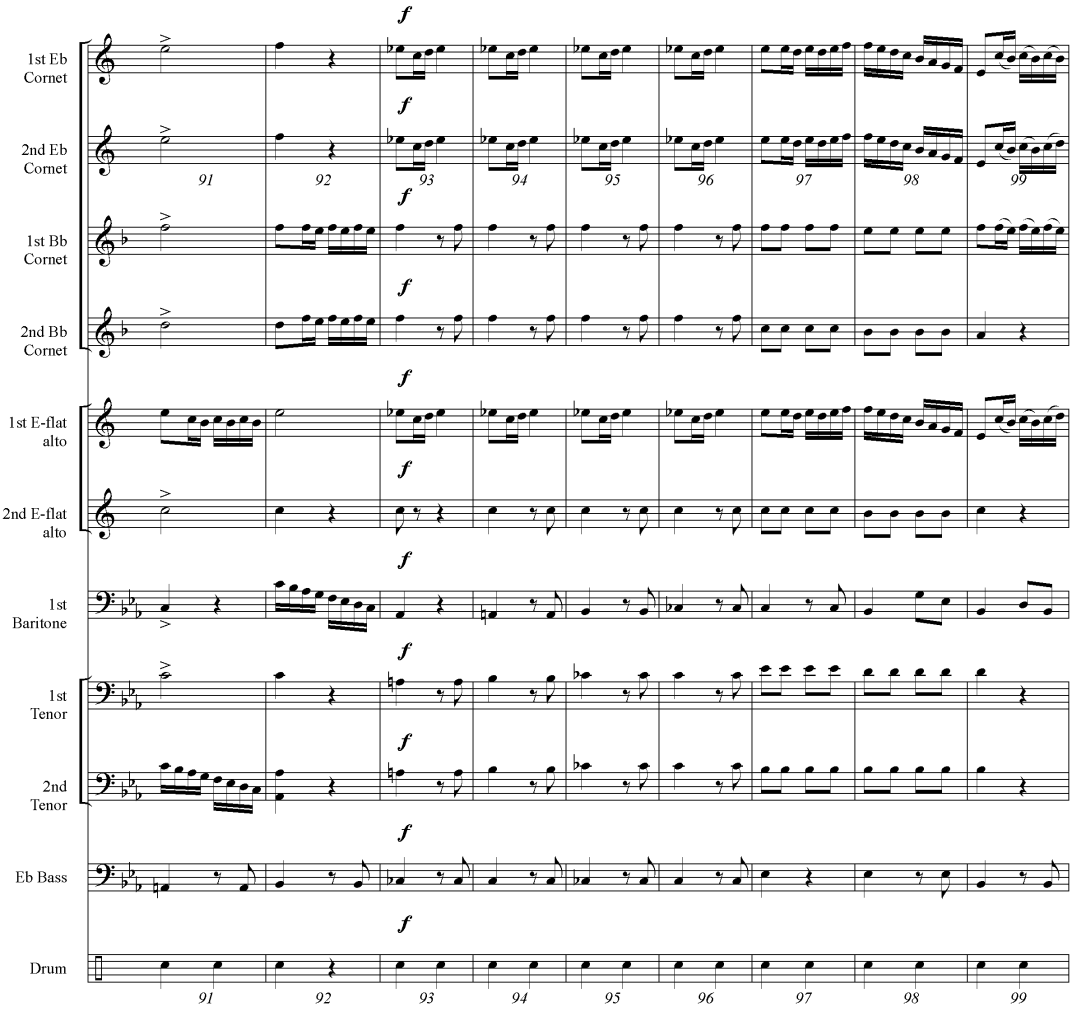
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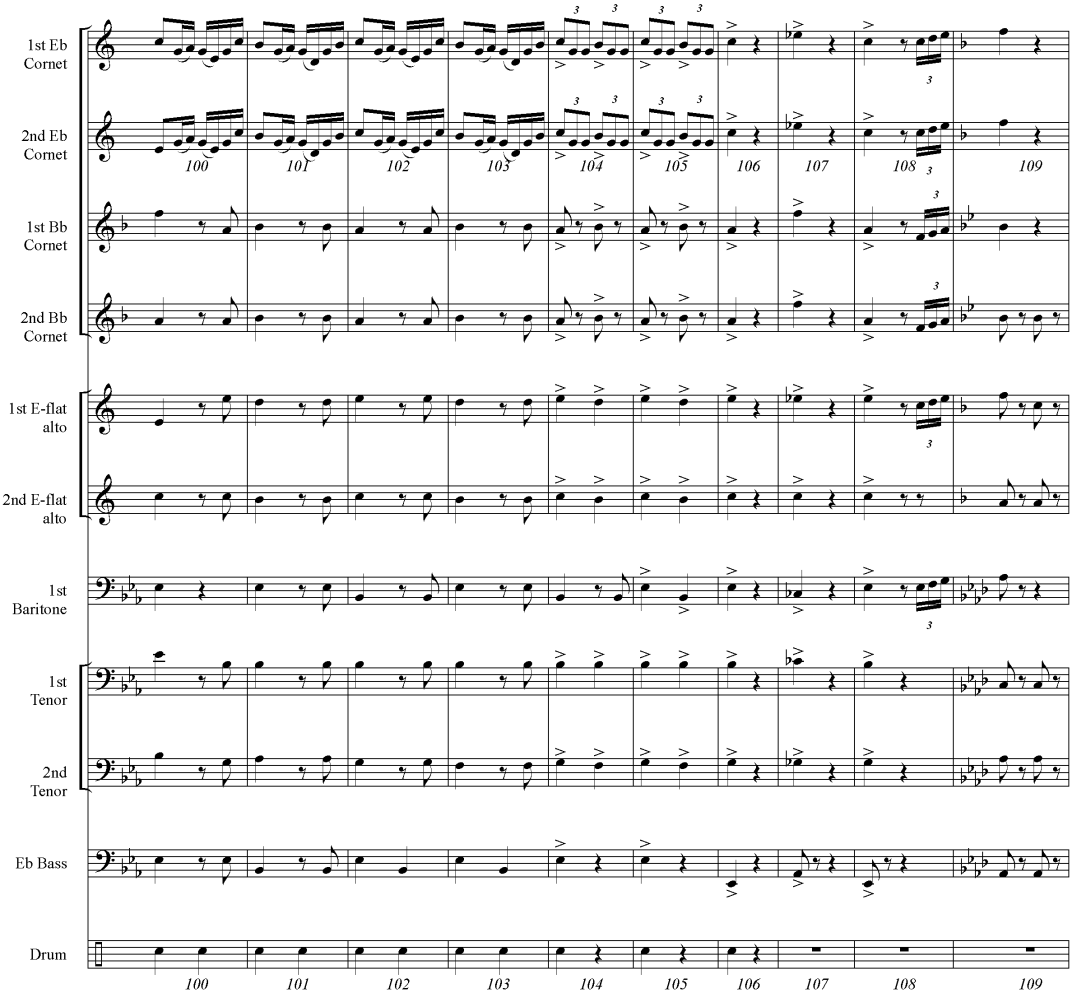
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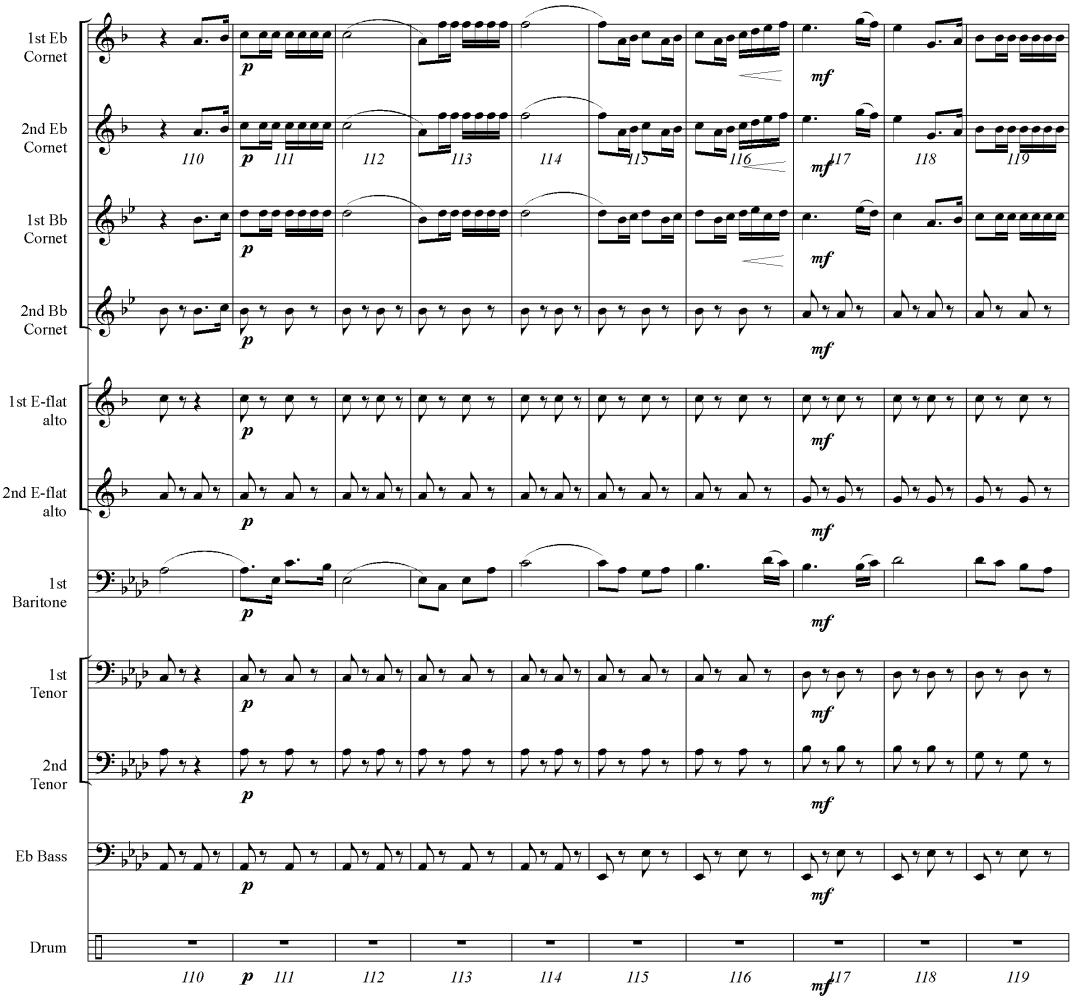
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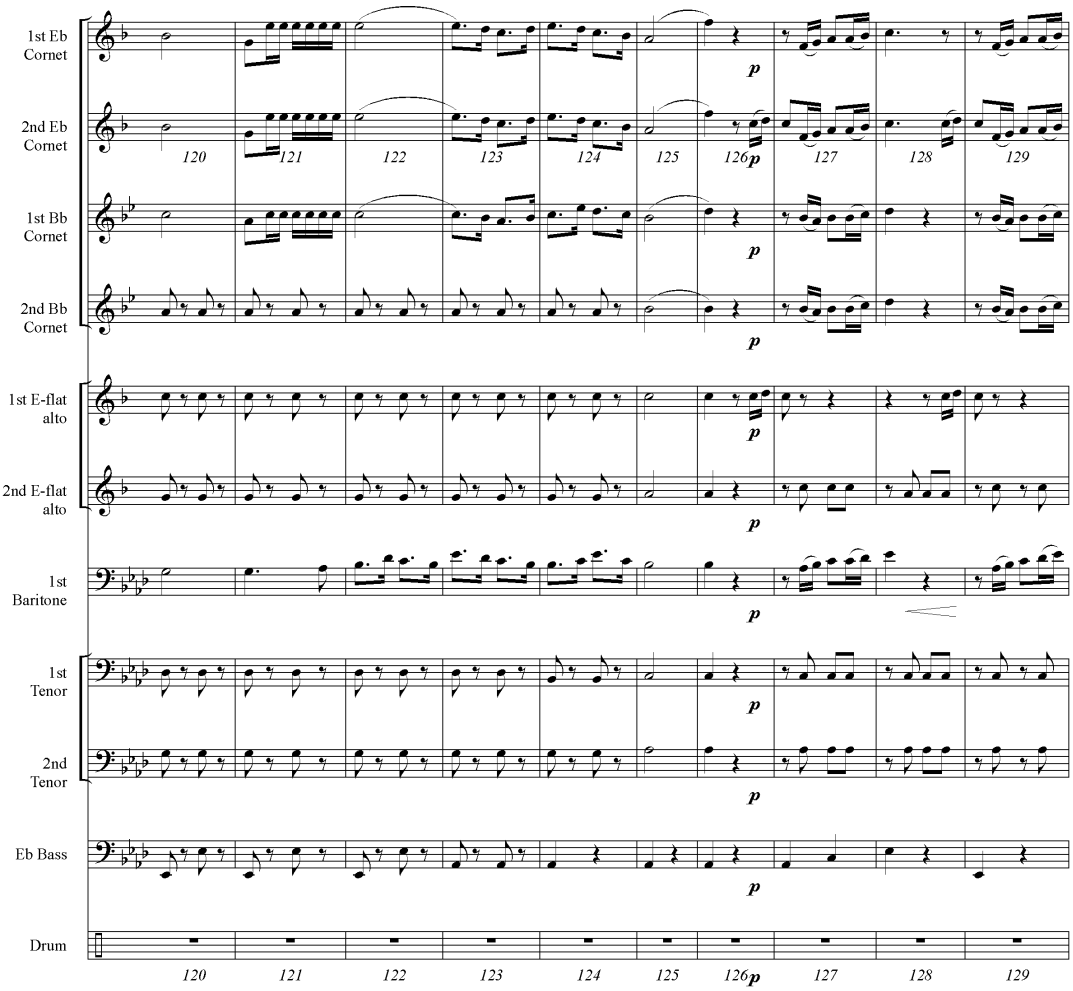
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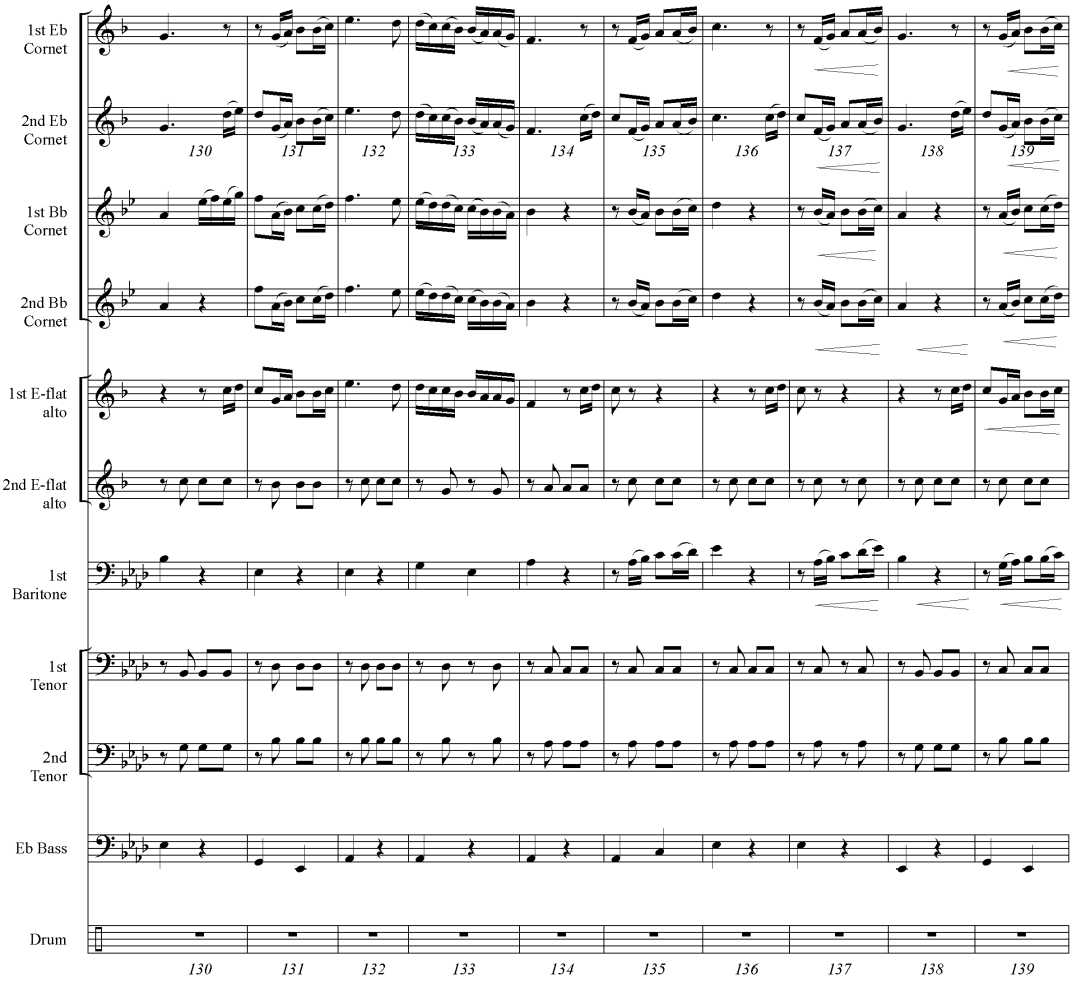
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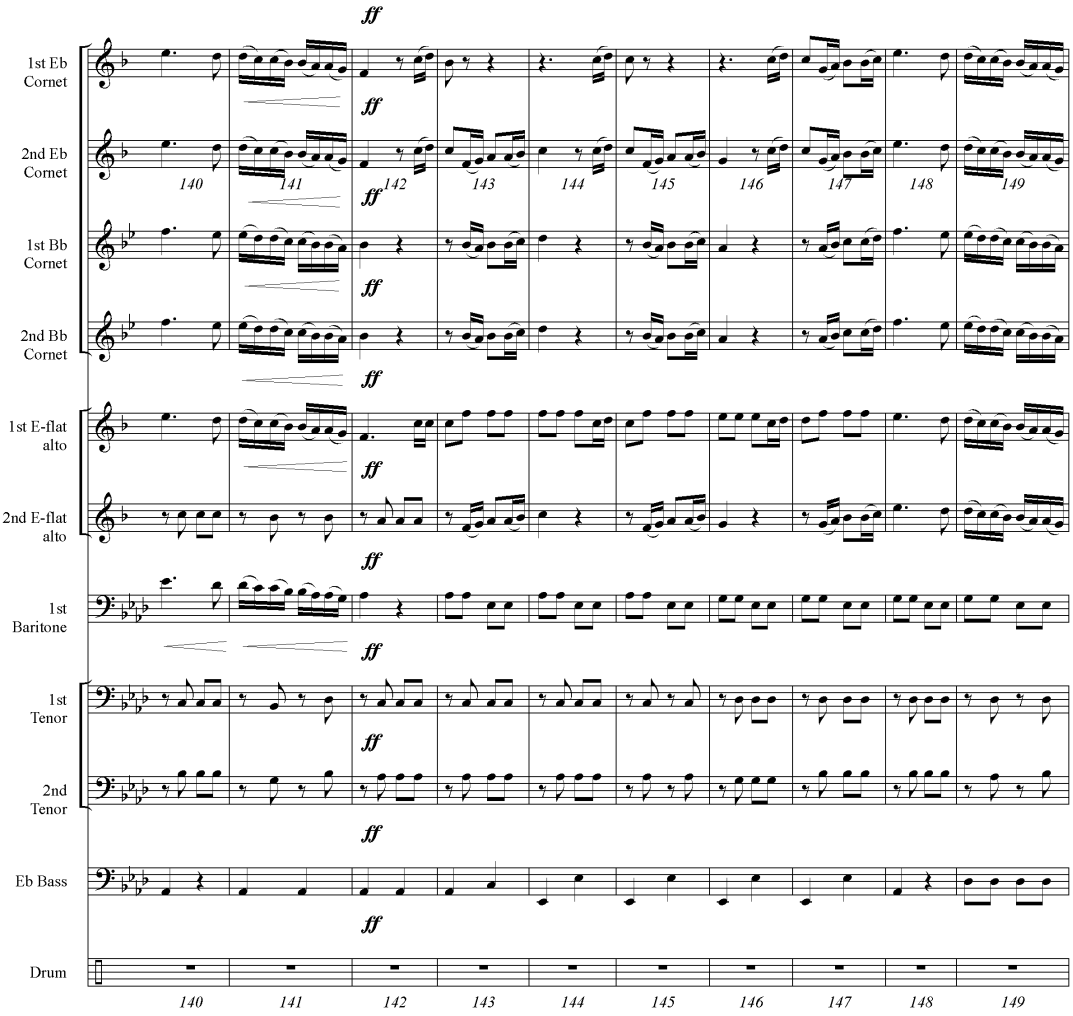
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2nd E-flat alto
1st Baritone
1st Tenor
2nd Tenor
Eb Bass
Drum
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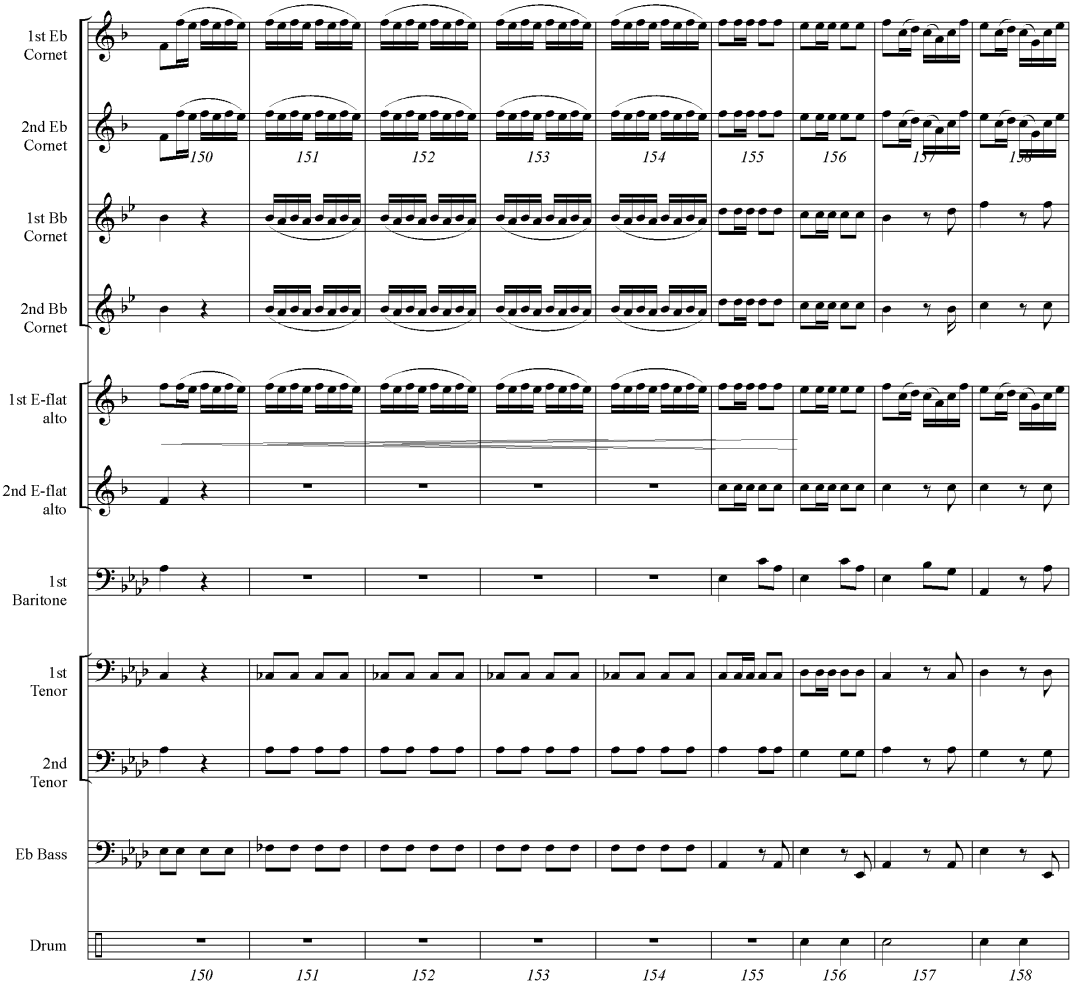
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2nd Tenor
Eb Bass
Drum
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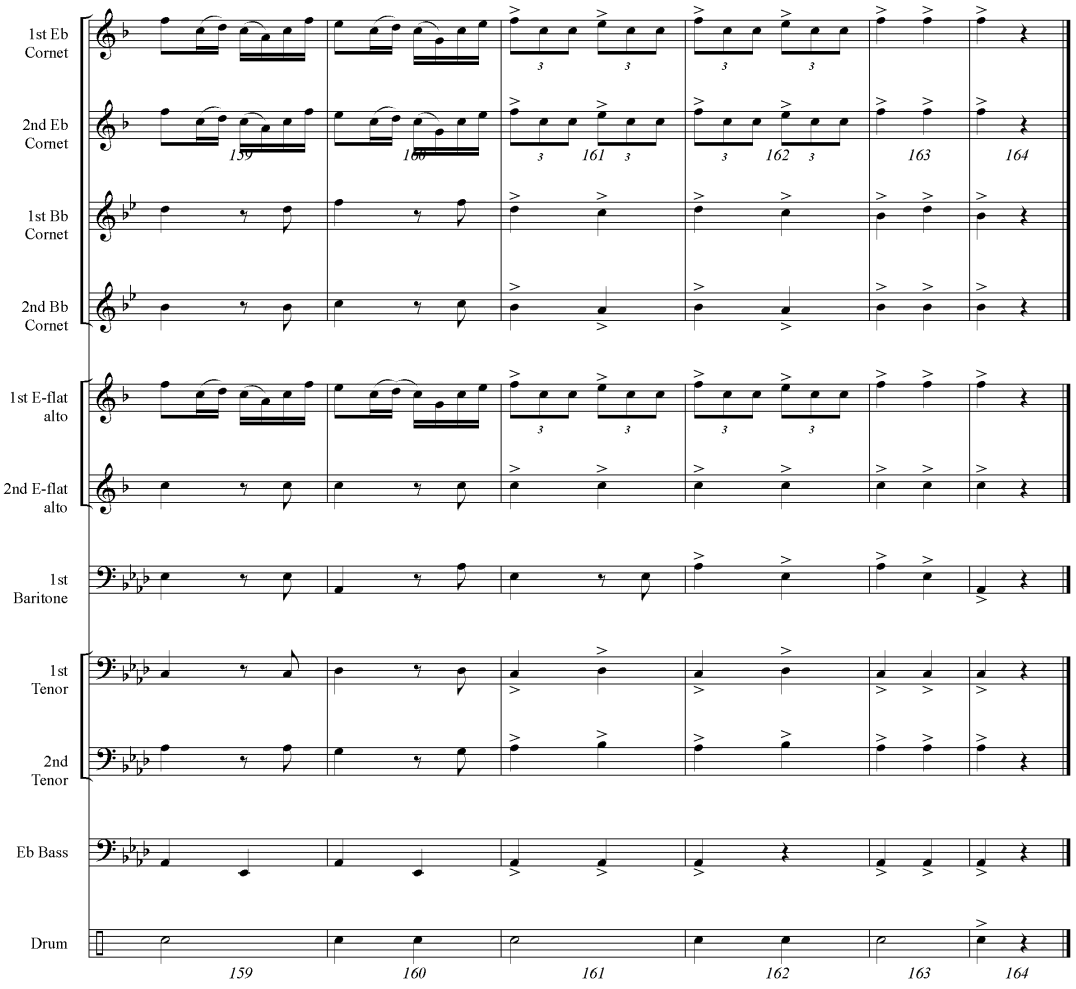
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1st Tenor
2nd Tenor
Eb Bass
Drum
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Vita

Matthew David Frederick was born in Allentown, Pennsylvania on March 16, 1976 and grew up in Slatington, Pennsylvania. After graduating from Northern Lehigh High School he attended West Chester University where he earned a Bachelor's degree in Music Education. Upon graduating, he entered Auburn University and earned a Masters of Music degree in trumpet performance. In the fall of 2000 he enrolled in The University of Texas and graduated in the Spring of 2004 with a Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Trumpet Performance. In the Fall of 2003 Frederick joined the faculty of Emory & Henry College, in Emory, Virginia, as an assistant professor of trumpet and music. He resides in Emory, Virginia with his wife Sandra.

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This dissertation was typed by Matthew David Frederick